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FRONT COVER: Parade in front of the Crystal Palace at the Great Exhibition in London, 1851.

BACK COVER: Franklin D. Richards, who was a missionary in Great Britain from 1846 to 1848 and later served three terms as British Mission president and member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. (Photo courtesy of Church Archives. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints)

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Tanner Lectures on Mormon History

The Mormon History Association is grateful to Obert C. and Grace A. Tanner for funding the Tanner Lectures on Mormon History. Mr. Tanner has given the Association an endowment, from which the interest will be used each year to pay for the annual Tanner lecture.

Mormon History Association Endowment Fund

The Mormon History Association invites contributions to a special endowment fund to further the Association's goal of promoting the understanding of Mormon history and scholarly research and publication in the field. Tax-deductible donations to the fund are invested in a trust fund established at Zion's First National Bank in Salt Lake City. Interest from the account helps defray publication costs of the *Journal of Mormon History*. For further information, contact Susan L. Fales, executive secretary of MHA.

The Popular History of Early Victorian Britain: A Mormon Contribution

John F. C. Harrison

It is a daunting prospect for a non-Mormon to address a gathering of the Mormon History Association, where virtually everyone in the room knows more about Mormon history than the speaker. I shall not have the impertinence to lecture you on that subject. Rather, I would like to speak about my own recent enthusiasms and my discovery in Mormon archives of some (for me) very exciting material.

For some time now I have been interested in exploring the history of the common people of Britain. This is a type of history that presents peculiar problems, among them the difficulty of sources. Imagine therefore my delight when I came upon the rich collection of Mormon journals and autobiographies and found that they contained a great deal of material relevant to my purposes. Here is a source, scarcely known outside Mormon circles, just waiting to be exploited by historians of nineteenth century Britain. I would like to suggest some ways in which these sources might be used for purposes wider than strictly Mormon history. I hope that this will be in the spirit of the Tanner lectures, to whose trustees I am greatly indebted for making possible this lecture today.

The writing of histories of the common people is not new.¹ Indeed, the tradition stretches from J. R. Green and Thorold Rogers in the later nineteenth century, through Cole and Postgate, and Mitchell and Leys, to the present.² Most of this

John F. C. Harrison is emeritus professor of history at the University of Sussex in England. This paper, read at the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Mormon History Association at Oxford, England, on July 6, 1987, was made possible through the generosity of Obert C. and Grace A. Tanner.

work, however, has been either primarily economic history or social history of the "men and manners" variety. My concern is somewhat different. It is to write history from below, as it were; to start from the perceptions of the people themselves, rather than accept the views of what others, whether contemporary reformers and sympathizers or later historians, thought about working people. These are the people who have usually been left out of history, and to write their history is to encounter formidable problems of chronology, theme, and sources.³

We cannot, for instance, ignore the historian's basic requirement of chronology, for history is essentially the study of change over time. But the chronology of popular history will not necessarily be the same as is appropriate for other types of history. Probably the traditional chronology and periodization of English history, being based on the political and economic decisions of the ruling classes, distorts or confuses the history of the common people, whose lives were largely determined by other considerations. We need an alternative periodization based on changes in popular experience and perceptions. Unfortunately, the danger of forcing popular history into a procrustean bed of traditional historiography cannot be entirely avoided. Until we have much more evidence to work on, we have to take some of the accepted historian's categories and periods, even though they may not be truly relevant. Moreover, although the history of the common people should not be submerged in general history, the two are obviously interrelated. The common people have always been faced with the problem of living in a world they did not create.

History of the common people is also different in its selection of themes. All history is a pattern made by interweaving chronological and thematic evidence from the records of the past; and for the common people, the themes will be those which seem to show most closely how they lived and what they made of their lives. This means (at least ideally) that the history of the common people will not be simply traditional history with highlights on the contributions of ordinary men and women, but a completely different pattern, starting from different assumptions and ideas of what is important and what is not. Historians will never be able to recreate, no matter how sympathetic or imaginative they are, anything more than a tiny fragment of the experiences and sentiments of that infinite host of men and women "which have no memorial, who are perished as though they had never been born." But if we start by asking the right questions and looking for answers in new directions, we may at least stand a chance of uncovering more than has been discovered about the common people in the past. The starting point must be those things which were central in the life of laboring people.

Here we come up against one of the greatest problems in writing the history of the common people: the scarcity of sources. We are dealing with that part of the community which was largely inarticulate. They did not, for the most part, leave written records in which they described their thoughts and feelings and the events in which they were involved. The literary sources upon which historians rely so heavily do not at present exist in the same form and quantity for the common people as for their social superiors. This, more than any other, has been the argument advanced by professional historians against the possibility of writing a

history of the common people. The historian is bound by his evidence, and if it is not there, he can make no headway. This, of course, is correct; but it is not the whole story. Known sources can be reworked. Oral testimony, folklore, the work of men's hands, and the comparative researches of archaeologists and anthropologists can be used to escape the tyranny of literary evidence. Most relevant here, many hitherto unknown autobiographies of working men and women have come to light in the past fifteen years, when scholars have deliberately gone out to look for them.⁴ No truth is greater for the historian than that he who seeketh, findeth.

Mormon historians have been aware for some time of the great wealth of autobiographical material that exists among LDS records. Ten years ago Malcolm Thorp, James B. Allen, Thomas G. Alexander, and others made good use of it.⁵ And we are all immensely indebted to Davis Bitton for his magnificent *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies*, published in 1977 and surely a model of its kind.⁶ Naturally these historians were interested in using the material to explore aspects of Mormon history. My purpose is somewhat different. It is to suggest that we should examine the autobiographies, diaries, and journals as products of the common people of early Victorian England, as part of a popular culture, the evidence of which is still all too scarce. It is not primarily as a record of events that the autobiography is to be evaluated, but as a statement by and about the author. Fascinating (often compelling) as are the accounts of missionary endeavor in the 1840s, or the hardships endured in the handcart companies of the 1850s, it is the type of perception and quality of the testimony that is of primary concern here. The autobiography is to be used as a key, or way, into the mental world of laboring men and women. As an offshoot of this, it is possible that some aspects of early Mormon history may appear in a slightly new context—though that is hardly within my competence to determine.

The writing of autobiography, however, is an extremely complex activity, and its use as historical evidence is by no means straightforward. At the risk of getting embroiled in current literary debates about the nature of autobiography, the historian cannot avoid certain problems. If it is used simply as a record, we have to make allowances for the fallibility of memory, especially as autobiographies were often written many years after the events they purport to describe. Even greater are the difficulties when we try to squeeze out more complex matter. Autobiography, even of the simplest and most naive kind, is in fact an art form, closely akin to fiction. The selection of memories is made in the light of the author's present conception of himself or herself. A coherence and pattern have been imposed as the author looks back; a process of smoothing out and tying up has gone on; some things have been deliberately left out and others overemphasized; self-justification and explanation have been added. The result is a curious tangle with which the historian has to wrestle. Yet this is the challenge. Documents, as Marc Bloch reminded us, are witnesses, and our task is to force them to speak, even against their will.⁷ To probe into the motives of the autobiographer, to examine the use of language and concepts of time, to try to disentangle the sense of self, opens up new vistas for the social historian. And nowhere are such opportunities greater than in a sample of early Mormon autobiographies.

Patience Loader, born in 1827, was a domestic servant from an Oxfordshire village, where her father was "head gardener to an English Nobler Man for twenty-three years."⁸ There were thirteen children in the family, and at the age of seventeen she went into service, first in a neighboring village and afterwards in London. Following her parents' conversion to Mormonism, she too was baptized, although at first she had been uninterested. She emigrated to Utah in 1856, and in 1858 she married John Rozsa, a sergeant in the 10th Infantry, U. S. Army. Her autobiography, entitled "Recollections of Past Days," is a marvelously vivid document. Through her oral speech style, phonetic spelling, and unpunctuated sentences, there shines the personality of a laboring woman. Unlike most such journal writers, she includes a great deal of how she felt about events and people. Now this is the very stuff of social history; for, as a great social historian once wrote, "the real, central theme of History is not what happened, but what people felt about it when it was happening."⁹

Patience's thoughts on leaving home for the first time, her observations on life in London in the late 1840s, the realities of life as a hotel housemaid—all make her so much more than the usual cardboard figure describing external events. Her natural powers of narration are perhaps shown at their best in her description of the journey by handcart to Utah in 1856. Terrified by hostile Indians, and with her sister giving birth in a tent, she writes an emotional and moving account of her father's sufferings and death on the plains. In this remarkable tour de force, told so simply and with such deep feeling, we are reminded of some of the qualities to be found in the common people. This is not to say that Patience Loader's autobiography is all on this level. At times she gives way to sentimentality. Looking back on her early days, she describes a romantic mist arising around "the old home" in England, where she had, she writes, "sweet recollections of childhood and girlhood when I think of the old home where I was born and raised it fills my heart with joy and pleasure the dear old house with thatched roof and old fashion casements windows with dimant cut glass and verada in front with wood-bines roses and honeysuckles twing up to the upstairs windows a beautifull flower garden on each side of the walk from the street."

The reality of a gardener's cottage in the 1830s was, alas, somewhat different.

The oral tones of the popular culture also come through in other autobiographies. Edwin Smout, born in 1825, was a foreman tailor from Dudley, and his Black Country speech can be heard when the following passage from his unpunctuated and phonetically spelled journal¹⁰ is read aloud:

I was rease and Brought up in the Town of Dudley Worcestershire England in my fourteen (14) year I was Bownd Apprentice to William Stokes in Said Town of Dudley I severed 18 mounth and then I when to the Taylors Cuting Bord for to learn to be a foreman in a Taylors Shop which traide I like in my 17 years I became acquainted with Leah Oakley She was born May 5th 1826 in Dudley Worcestershire England She was the Daughter of Samuel Oakley and Mary Adlington in my 17 year I got made a odd Fellow in the love and Unity Lodge I was then Choosen Secretary of the Lodge which office I held for 18 mounths when I was elected Vice Grand of the Lodge After keeping Company with Leah Oakley for upwards of four years we got Married. . . . we Spent 2 months at Mothers and then we when to house Keeping I did at my trade firstrate I furnish a house good I Rented a pew in the Methodist Church from them and other Churchs I got my

trade we appeared in the world first-rate and in good order On the 3 day of October 1847 my wife Brought my first Son Felix She had a Bad time with her first Child it was a Seven months Child We had hard work to keep life in him for two months then he did very well in December I Received invitation from John Wever a Master Shoe Maker to go and hear the Latter Day Saints Preach.

He was baptized in 1848 and resigned from the Oddfellows:

I went to my Lodge as I was Vice-grand of the Same and give up my office and gave them address I told them I had nothing against the Order of odd Fellows I love the Order But I was a Latter day Saint I was in a member of a Church that was truth I Should hold to that and give up the odd Fellows.

This autobiography is significant for its priorities: occupation, marriage and family, respectability, friendly society, and religion; but it tells us little about the author's thoughts and feelings.

An autobiography of a different type is that of John Freeman.¹¹ Born in 1807, probably illegitimate and soon orphaned, Freeman spent his childhood in the parish school of industry of St. James, Westminster. Twelve months after being apprenticed by the parish as a shoemaker, he ran away "owing to ill usage" and worked in a brickyard at Hammersmith for ten years. In 1832 (the year of the Great Reform Bill), he became a farm worker in Bedfordshire, Warwickshire, and the Midland counties; and in between reaping times, he sang reform songs, with a companion, in marketplaces and at fairs. This arrangement, however, soon came to an end, and the two singers parted after "having a few words." Freeman was then

followed by a young woman of the name of Hannah Whiting, who had followed me for some months, but I not wanting to have anything to do with her, evaded her as much as possible, until at last she found me out where I was reaping, and then I could not get rid of her, so we two went together, to Birmingham, then back to Alcester, Evesham, Cheltenham and Banbury, where we took lodgings and I commenced to make cloth slippers and she sold them, I singing in the markets and fairs at intervals. We next took a furnished house, and after a bit we bought some goods of our own and took a house to ourselves where we continued until December 18, 1834, when her temper being so bad and so quarrelsome I at length resolved to leave her, which I did on the above day, leaving her and goods altogether and travelled on to Stratford on Avon where I arrived the same evening and took lodgings at Thomas Heritage's and went on with my shoe making, having to bind them myself and likewise sell them.

Then in February 1835 he got a young woman, Esther Smith, to bind shoes for him. After her father died, and she was being pressured by her family to leave home and go into service, he decided to marry her. "After some equivocations" she agreed, and they were married in Stratford parish church in April 1835. Their first child was born in November 1836 and died the following March. Freeman seems to have been very unsettled during the next few years and was constantly moving back and forth between Stratford and Birmingham, living first in the one place and then in the other. He joined the Independents and attended their chapels, but was soon attracted to the Chartists after hearing them speak in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, in 1839. He joined the Christian Chartists, their discourses being "as nigh the Truth as most of them inasmuch as they advocated the Golden Rule of our Saviour and the Rights of their fellow creatures—so I joined with them and we opened a new place of worship, thus starting another [of] the numerous sects

already upon the earth." This last phrase has a distinctly LDS ring about it; and indeed, in 1844 Freeman was converted to Mormonism, convinced that it was what he was looking for: "on the evening of the 6th March I was so foolish as to follow Christ through the water of regeneration and thus became a Son of God by being born of the Water."

Freeman's autobiography is one of those that is important not only for what it says but also for what it does not say. We sense something that is not wholly revealed. Why, for instance, does he tell us so little about his childhood and those ten years when he was working in the brickyard? We learn nothing about his schooling or level of educational attainment, though the journal is competently written and full of lively domestic detail. Nor does he fully explain his radical sympathies, although he was ready to sing songs supporting reform in 1832 and to join the Chartists in 1841. His views on marriage and the relation between the sexes, if deduced from his actions, are interesting, to say the least. He did not marry until he was twenty-eight, and then only because he feared he was about to lose the girl's services as a helpmate in his trade. Previously he had set up house with her predecessor, although (he would have us believe) only reluctantly. The contrast with the respectability and concern for worldly success manifested by the previous autobiographer, Edwin Smout, is marked.

Nevertheless, it is pointless for the historian to regret what he sees as the inadequacies and limitations of such evidence. Rather, we have to accept the autobiographies of common people as statements of how things appeared to them. Otherwise we fall into that "enormous condescension of posterity" against which we have been warned.¹² The things left out or treated only perfunctorily, the priorities accorded to different themes, the foreshortened chronology are themselves the evidence for which we are looking. They are part of the consciousness of the common people. George Morris, a farm laborer, explained how it was: "This scrapbook is an index to my life and caracter as the scraps are arranged in it so it has been with me. If I got anything I had to take it as I could catch it running, standing up, sitting or laying down. I was born in Hanley, Cheshire, England—of poore parents in a poor country—in August 1816."¹³

And there in pencil, in large, unformed handwriting, written as he spoke, is his testimony of what it was like to work on the land. As soon as he could walk, he was employed in bird scaring, armed with a set of clappers and "hollering" to scare off the rooks from early morning to late at night. His account of how he learned all the jobs required of a farm laborer is reminiscent of William Cobbett, though without any touch of romanticism. The detailed descriptions of what ploughing was really like when the ploughman was coated with mud, of how his mother worked for the farmers in the fields digging potatoes, and of how he picked blackberries to sell in the market are memorable for their unaffected authenticity. Hardly surprisingly, he remarks ruefully that there was "no time for me to go to school to get any education," although he did occasionally attend a dame school for a few weeks "now and then."

In due course Morris married: "After a while I thought that I must do as a great many other young men have done—get married. So I picked out a girl and

married her—we were married at the parish church at Ashton under Lyne on the 6th of June 1840. She was an orphan girl, by the name of Jane Higinbotham.” She was delivered of a baby girl “about a year after,” and died in April 1841, “aged 20 years and 3 months.”

This laconic account contrasts with the detail provided for other aspects of his life. Whether it truly represented Morris’s view of marriage, or whether for some reason he was reluctant to say more, we do not know. In later life (1863) he entered polygamous marriage, and afterwards he was arrested and tried.

When the writer of an autobiography was a person of superior education or aspired to literary fame, the result was usually less satisfying than more humble efforts in the vernacular. George Harris, the son of a Devonshire cabinet maker, begins his autobiography thus: “Begoten and born in the usual manner, Gentle reader; I shal not tire U with particulars. Altho it may not be amiss to mention Dec. the 7th 1830 as the time; James and Eliza as the Parents; and the aforementioned lovely Ilfracombe as the location.”¹⁴

He next tells an amusing story that his parents could not agree about his name, with the result that he was christened George Henry, his father always calling him George and his mother, Henry. The affectation of a humorous literary style reaches its extreme in his account of learning to walk: “It would be more difficult than interesting to tel of the number of fals that happened while tutering my pedal extremities to resist the effects of ‘Atraction of Gravitation’.”

Harris had a strongly Methodist upbringing and was apprenticed aboard a coaster in 1846. He was educated to high school standard and studied navigation. However, his spelling is highly erratic, and one shudders to learn that he actually taught school in Utah for a short time in 1854 before taking up farming. The autobiography is fully of amusing anecdotes and short poems, both humorous and sentimental; and the author’s self-conscious attempt to write for an audience and to project himself as a very entertaining fellow suggests a fairly sophisticated personality.

Individual personality, indeed, is perhaps the dominant characteristic that emerges from the autobiographies so far cited. Loader, Smout, Freeman, Morris, and Harris all wrote as interesting people in their own right. Yet our purpose in examining these and other testimonies is to see what, if anything, they have in common, to try to discern common assumptions, perceptions, and degrees of consciousness. Virtually all the writers begin by seeking to establish their identity. This they do by reference to time, place, and parentage. By telling the reader the date and sometimes the hour of their birth in a certain town or village, and their father’s occupation, they feel that they have located themselves socially. Explanation, apology, or justification follows from this. The location is not usually very extensive. Few autobiographers give details of their grandparents or uncles and aunts unless they were sent to live with them, and siblings appear only as numbers. The family as a center of childhood seems to be taken for granted, of little interest to the reader, or perhaps as irrelevant to the main purpose of the writer, which was to present himself. Virtually none of the autobiographers spend much time on their childhood. They sometimes mention particular hardships connected with child

labor but seldom give much detail or speculate about their childish thoughts at the time.¹⁵ It is as if the years before the age of puberty were considered of no account, or at most as preparation for earning a living later.

One thing the autobiographers virtually always mention is their schooling, or, more usually, their lack of it. All of them had managed at some stage to become literate, and the writing of their autobiographies reminded them in many cases of the inadequacies that remained after their attendance at Sunday school, dame school, or common day school.¹⁶ Andrew Sproul, a Scottish weaver born in 1816, in a journal that devotes only one paragraph to the whole of his life prior to the arrival of Mormon elders in 1840, nevertheless finds space to comment as follows:

My father Francis Sprowl and my mother Ann Nicol that being his fathers name were poor but honest and I being set to work at an early age, viz. weaving, I had no opportunity of getting an education before I was set to work, three months previous to being put to labour and that was between the sixth and seventh years of my age I was put to school and that time was taken up in larning the alphabet and to read a little this was all the time that was set apart for me in the way of being educated at school.¹⁷

The children of artisans and tradesmen were usually sent to school to learn at least the three Rs, but it is clear that they regarded schooling primarily as a utilitarian pursuit. It was not education in a broad sense that was expected, but simply the acquisition of a skill, similar to any other craft. The consequent level of attainment was not, by today's standards, high. For example, Robert Hazen, born in 1832 and a molder by trade, says that he "learned to be a good writer, speller, arithmetician, geographer and was naturally quick at learning, perhaps not so quick as others."¹⁸ But a typical entry in his journal runs thus:

1853

Tuesday 12. long to be remembered. 21 years to day i was ushered into this state of existence. where shall i be 21 years hence. at work this day. went to see my intended. found her ill. administered to her in the name of Jesus. she partook of a good supper after and felt well. the Glory be to God.

For common people, making a living was the central experience of their lives. The lifelong waking hours of all but a small minority of the population were dominated by work of some kind, and this comes through very clearly in the autobiographies. Two aspects stand out: first, the great variety of types of occupation, from many kinds of laboring to skilled crafts and trades; and second, the many different jobs at which an individual worker tried his hand. Thomas Day, born in 1814 near Wolverhampton, is a good example.¹⁹ First he worked as a blacksmith with his father, who was a machine blacksmith. After his father's death, he left the machine company and worked in a carpet factory at Kidderminster. He records a sixteen-week strike against reduction of wages, accompanied by riots in which, he assures us, he took no part. Nevertheless, he left Kidderminster and went to Worcester, where he worked with his stepfather in a rope yard. Next he got a job in a button factory in Bromsgrove, but gave it up in favor of work in a foundry in Birmingham. Thence he returned to Bromsgrove and the button factory, and his last occupation was in a needle factory in Redditch. Despite, or perhaps because of, his peregrinations around the West Midlands, he apparently made a decent

living. He was proud of the respectability he ultimately attained, and it was a sore trial that he forfeited this when he became a Mormon: "My wife and I had been very respectable in society, but we now found that our friends became persecutors for the gospel's sake."

Even when a boy was apprenticed to a skilled trade, he not infrequently ran away before completing his term; and if he finished his apprenticeship he often had to go "on tramp" in search of work. The autobiographies contain many examples of such cases. In fact, the general impression from them is of a good deal of mobility between job and job and from place to place. One senses a certain mood of restlessness, of searching for something that eludes the writer, whether security, respectability, or good health. It implies familiarity with, if not acceptance of, some form of change to an extent not common in traditional, preindustrial society. It is a form of seeking, paralleled by the often-mentioned movement from one religious sect to another before the acceptance of the Mormon message. Joseph Smith's rejection of existing churches and sects because of their competing and contradictory claims is echoed in most of these Mormon autobiographies. This may have been no more than an expected pattern, similar to the conversion experience repeated in countless Methodist autobiographies. But equally it may relate to something more fundamental in the culture of the common people. Some of them were already religious seekers when the Mormon mission arrived in England. Perhaps it was not only their religious quest that made numbers of them receptive to Mormonism, but also the social and cultural context of their worldly experiences.

As with other working-class autobiographies, there is a paucity of emotional and intimate detail. References to marriage and courtship are usually purely factual: "On August the 10, 1842 i began to Pay my address to maryann Case eldes Daughter of Robert and ann Case who was born at Chipenham in the county of wilts in the year of our Lord 1822," wrote George Halliday, a plasterer from Trowbridge, "and we continued to pay our addresses to each other untill the 1 of April 1844 when we was married at the old Church, troubridge."²⁰ Two weeks later his wife was taken ill with "consumption," and after thirteen months she died. George Spilsbury, a Worcestershire bricklayer, notes baldly, "on Sept 5th I married Fanny Smith of Cradly [Cradley] parish, Herefordshire, England."²¹ Only rarely do we find even as much feeling as Thomas Day allowed himself when he described his first wife, Ann Andrus Danks, as "a young widow of quiet, loving and lovable ways." Children too are mentioned only to record the date of their birth and, sometimes, early death.

We would like to learn more about family affairs, the role of women, and the relation between spouses, but our sources are meager indeed. How to force these documents to yield more escapes us at present. The autobiographers are eager to tell us many things about themselves, particularly their religious experiences, but it is their public, not their private, selves that they are anxious to reveal. The historian of the common people perversely is not content with what the text of the autobiography says, but looks for what was never intended to be heard. Sexual mores, for instance, are seldom mentioned directly, but John Freeman's account of his relationship with Hannah Whiting implies much. It is unlikely that prudery

was a cause of reticence. Ralph Ramsay, a cabinetmaker born in 1824, described his visits to delinquent and apostate LDS members in the Newcastle upon Tyne area and did not mince his words.²² In 1854 he visited Elder Joshua Cutts, "who had been charged with having the venereal." Cutts's explanation was that his penis, which had been injured by a fall of stones while he was working in the pit, had become infected by his piles, from which he also suffered. The visiting elders told him that the evidence suggested he was guilty and that he should confess frankly. He protested his innocence and said that "he had not had any connection with any woman but his own wife since he entered the Church, that being about five years — what took place before that no one had any business with." Frankness of this order lets in a little light upon the subject of popular sexuality and suggests that the conventions of middle-class Victorian morality were by no means universal in the 1850s.

In contrast to the scarcity of references to sexuality, all the writers have something to say about religion. This, of course, is to be expected, given the nature of the exercise that to the writer was essentially a spiritual autobiography. In the classic form of this genre, the early events lead up to a crisis out of which is born a new self. The search for personal salvation, the failure to find "rest" in any of the religious modes of institutions tried, and the final conversion experience are familiar from puritan models dating back to the seventeenth century. Methodism revitalized and strengthened this tradition and made it available to thousands of working people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As Malcolm Thorp has shown, Methodism was a very fruitful source of converts to Mormonism in the early Victorian years.²³

Our Mormon autobiographies conform closely to the classic pattern of conversion narrative, albeit in a somewhat attenuated form (little is said, for instance, about the inner spiritual strivings, more about going from sect to sect). The reasons given for acceptance of Mormonism bear out the conclusions reached by Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, Richard Bushman, Jan Shipps, and others.²⁴ But always the climax of the first part of the autobiography is baptism in the LDS church, usually after hearing a Mormon preacher. George Halliday was finally converted by his brother, John Halliday, who had come from Nauvoo on a mission: "i then heard the docktrine that he taught and i examined it with the Bible and after some examination i found that i had done the Best that i know how in serving the Lord But i found that there ware greater light come into the world and i was then willing to embraice it and on Sunday the tenth of November 1844 i was Baptised."

Looking back over their lives, the Mormon autobiographers were unanimous that their baptism was the most important thing that had happened to them. It was a watershed, the reference point in their lives against which all else was to be assessed. The break with the past, the great discontinuity, was further emphasized by emigration, with its often traumatic journey and the building of a new life in a strange new environment. Time was to be measured as before or after the great event. The effect of this was to introduce a sense of chronology that previously had been absent. Working-class autobiographies tend to be fragmentary, anecdotal, chronologically vague, and reliant on traditional (sometimes generational) concepts

of time. Mormonism introduced a greater degree of structure and a more disciplined ordering of events. Dates, notably the exact date of baptism, are more plentifully supplied.

Few of the Mormon autobiographers mentioned external events, although they were living through one of the periods of greatest political, economic, and social change in English history. Instead of relating the episodes in their lives to happenings on the national scene, their reminiscences are, with very few exceptions, essentially local and familial. The things that stuck in the memory were personal and even trivial. George Spilsbury, the Worcestershire bricklayer who dismissed his marriage in one short sentence, described in considerable detail how he caught an infectious disease while on his missionary labors in Herefordshire in the early 1840s:

Having to sleep in so many different places and sometimes with very undesirable bedfellows, I caught the itch which nearly cost me my life. An Elder that travelled with me on one occasion advised me to get some mercury, dissolve [it] in water and wash wherever I was broken out with this rash, which I did in a cold room which caused it to strike inwardly. O, I was very sick . . . [and he had to travel sixteen or seventeen miles]. The spirit of the Lord suggested to me to get some burdock roots and make some tea and drink it freely, which I did and it killed the effects of the mercury and I recovered.

It may be that this anecdote was included as an example of divine help, but it also reveals an order of priorities and a predilection for herbal remedies common to laboring people at this time. There is, of course, a simple explanation of why the common people did not write about national events: it was because they were not, for the most part, consciously involved in them. Their world was not that of their rulers, and the daily concerns of laboring people, as these autobiographies make clear, lay elsewhere.

A crucial question in assessing the evidence of the autobiographies is the nature of the sample. Davis Bitton lists perhaps 150 entries relating to England in the 1830s and 1840s, and of these I have been able to examine some 35. This is but a tiny fraction of the 17,849 Mormon baptisms and 4,700 emigrants from Britain in the period 1837-46, and makes anything like generalization extremely hazardous. The most that can be said is that the experiences and sentiments recorded in the Mormon autobiographies examined are, by and large, very similar to non-Mormon autobiographies of the same type and period. The sample is biased geographically toward the West Midlands and Lancashire, and also toward religion. But the language of blessings and gifts, the use of greetings such as brother and sister, and the literalness of biblical references are very close to the culture of Methodism and popular evangelical religion generally. Women, as ever, are underrepresented among the autobiographers, and what we hear most clearly are masculine voices.

With these provisos, a few tentative conclusions may nevertheless be drawn from the witness of these autobiographers. First, they were nearly all poor people in the sense that they did not have much of this world's goods, and some of them were at times in want. The pursuit of material well-being and escape from the anxieties and stresses that poverty entails preoccupied most of them for much of their time. A constant theme was the struggle to attain respectability, with its implicit

recognition of the division in working-class life between the "roughs" and the "respectables." Second, the common people did not exercise power. They did not, for the most part, make the decisions that affected their lives, but were, in effect, controlled by others. A working man, even a skilled artisan with traditional notions of independence, could do little about external conditions that affected his work. Perhaps the biggest step toward emancipation that he could take was emigration, which seemed to offer a new dimension of freedom.

Despite, or perhaps because of, their poverty and exclusion from power, the common people developed their own consciousness and aspirations that were different from their rulers'. Deeper even than the laboring man's expectation of material sufficiency for himself and his family, there emerges from the autobiographies the elemental desire in all human beings to feel that they are wanted and that their efforts are recognized and rewarded. When this is denied, there is a loss in human dignity and sense of worth. The denial of some of the basic needs of ordinary people, and the constant belittling of their opinions by the educated classes, perpetuated a gulf between "them" and "us." There was a natural retreat into a working-class or popular religious world, where there were other values that recognized men and women for what they were worth, despite the contrary view of the dominant society. The "sons of want" knew that they had only themselves to turn to for help. Experience taught self-help through reliance on the family, the local community, the chapel, the friendly society, or the trade union. It was into this world of the common people that the Mormon missionaries penetrated in 1837 and from which they reaped such a rich harvest.

NOTES

1. *Common people* is the term by which the great majority of ordinary people who had to work for their living were known in Britain. I have used the words *common* and *popular* throughout the paper despite their slightly different usage in British and American English.

2. See J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People* (London, 1874); James E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labour*, 2 vols. (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1884); G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate, *The Common People, 1746-1938* (London: Methuen, 1938); R. J. Mitchell and M. D. R. Leys, *A History of the English People* (London: Longmans, Green, 1950).

3. These problems are discussed at greater length in the introduction to J. F. C. Harrison, *The Common People of Great Britain* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1985); also published in the United Kingdom as *The Common People* (London: Fontana, 1984).

4. Notably in John Burnett, David Vincent, and David Mayall, *The Autobiography of the Working Class: An Annotated, Critical Bibliography*, vol. 1, 1790-1900 (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1984). See also David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London: Europa, 1981); and the introduction to Robert Lowery, *Radical and Chartist*, ed. Brian Harrison and Patricia Hollis (London: Europa, 1979). A valuable recent study is Regenia Gagnier, "Social Atoms: Working-Class Autobiography, Subjectivity, and Gender," *Victorian Studies* 30 (3), Spring 1987.

5. See Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-52," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977), to which I am much indebted. Also James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840-41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes," *Brigham Young University Studies* 15 (4), Summer 1975; Thomas G. Alexander, "Wilford

Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experience," *Church History* 45 (1), March 1976.

6. Davis Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), on which I have relied heavily.

7. See Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1954), 63, 64, and quoted in Alan Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), 190.

8. Patience Loader Rozsa Archer (1827-1921), Autobiography, Brigham Young University Library. In this and all following quotations the original spelling, punctuation (or lack of it), and grammar have been retained, without the use of the infuriating *sic*.

9. G. M. Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), vi.

10. Edwin Ward Smout (1823-1900), Journal, Brigham Young University Library.

11. John Freeman (1807-?), Reminiscences and Diary, Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS Archives).

12. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Gollancz, 1963), 12.

13. George Morris (1816-1897), Reminiscences, LDS Archives.

14. George Henry Abbott Harris (1830-?), Autobiography, Brigham Young University Library.

15. E.g. Thomas Wright Kirby (1831-1908), Autobiography, LDS Archives. Kirby describes the working conditions in a Suffolk silk factory to which he was sent at the age of seven.

16. There is a considerable literature on literacy and schooling in the nineteenth century. For the latest study in this area see W. B. Stephens, *Education, Literacy and Society: The Geography of Diversity in Provincial England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

17. Andrew Sproul (1816-?), Diary, Brigham Young University Library.

18. Robert Hazen (1832-?), Diary, Brigham Young University Library.

19. Thomas Day (1814-1893), Autobiography, LDS Archives.

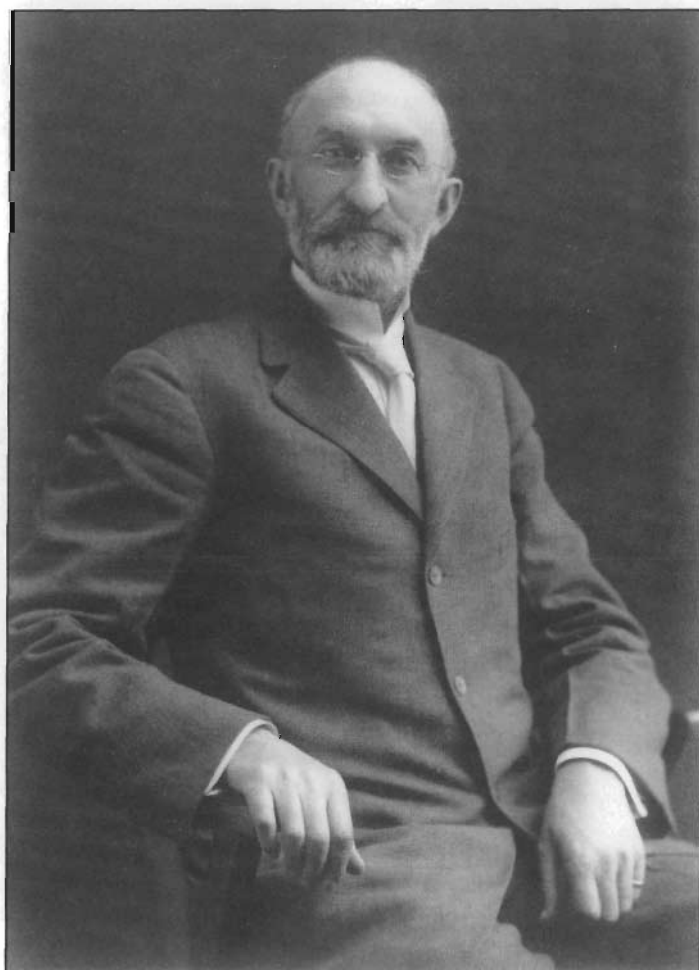
20. George Halliday (1823-1900), Journal, Brigham Young University Library.

21. George Spilsbury (1823-?), Autobiography, Brigham Young University Library.

22. Ralph Ramsay (1824-?), Journal, LDS Archives.

23. Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Great Britain, 1837-52," 60.

24. See Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1979); Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: the Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985).



Heber J. Grant
(photo courtesy of Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints)

Heber J. Grant's European Mission, 1903-1906

Ronald W. Walker

Elder Heber J. Grant landed in Liverpool, England, in November 1903, and by the first of the year he officially assumed his new position as president of the European Mission. The presidency of the mission was the church's premier overseas office. The mission began at Tromsø, Norway, and ran to Cape Town, South Africa, with Iceland and India serving as distant east-west meridians.¹ While the church had branches in each of these extremities, in reality Elder Grant's field of labor was more compact. Most Mormon effort was reserved to the Low Countries, Germany, Scandinavia, and Switzerland, where he had a general superintendency, and especially in the British Isles, where his duties were immediate and day-to-day.

He immediately had a sense of *déjà vu*. Waiting for him at the foot of the pier was Elder Francis M. Lyman, his brusque, good-natured, 250-pound friend, now retiring from the European Mission to assume the presidency of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. As in Tooele two and a half decades earlier, when Heber had succeeded him as stake president, Elder Grant now found his predecessor had "filled up the mud-holes, removed the rocks, and left a good road for us to travel on."² There was another familiar aspect. Time had not altered Lyman's capacity for firm opinion, which, during the next six weeks before he finally sailed for America, flowed readily and at times disconcertingly. Heber wondered if Lyman did not still regard him, despite his two decades of service in the Quorum of the Twelve, as the Tooele novice.

There was an immediate issue. "What in the world are you doing, bringing six

Ronald W. Walker is associate professor of history and senior research historian at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History at Brigham Young University.

girls over here?" Elder Lyman asked when he saw Heber, Heber's wife Emily, and a half dozen of the Grant children disembark. His opposition continued as the family drove to the mission home. Wouldn't the blossoming Dessie and Grace distract the young elders? How in the world did Heber expect to get any work done? Lyman was defending established procedure. At the turn of the century many LDS authorities saw leading a mission as an ascetic obligation, and most mission presidents served without the companionship of a wife, much less children. Heber J. Grant, not so impressed with precedent, had previously secured the approval of President Joseph F. Smith for his family's presence. Nevertheless, to the moment of Lyman's departure, the presence of the Grant family was a continuing irritant between the two men.³

There was yet another problem. Grant badly wanted to be rid of the old mission home at 42 Islington. For half a century, the building had served as the European headquarters of the church, while both it and its neighborhood had deteriorated. Universal consensus labeled it a byword, if not a hiss. "At first the din from the street kept me awake," one missionary wrote ironically about his stay at "Old '42," "but ere long it acted as a soporific, lulling me to rest, my slumber being broken only when the noise ceased, as it did for a short while between midnight and day-break."⁴ The three-story structure sat on a stone-paved intersection through which a heavy traffic of trams, buses, cabs, and trucks rumbled. Discolored by Liverpool's sodden atmosphere, 42 Islington also had a reputation for lingering derelicts and even an occasional haunting ghost.

The Grant family had long entertained colorful and disapproving stories about the old mission home, ever since Emily had fled there during the Raid of the 1880s to give birth to Dessie, the couple's firstborn. Years had not softened her feelings. Learning of Heber's call and her expected role as "mission mother," Emily firmly announced that neither she nor her children would live in the building.⁵

Before he left Salt Lake City, Heber had tried to persuade his fellow General Authorities to approve a \$25,000 public subscription to fund a new headquarters.⁶ Apparently dismissing the plan as too public and grandiose, they at length quietly instructed Lyman to buy a new building from church funds.⁷ He accordingly located a property, but after he learned that its deed covenants were restrictive, he lost interest. Grant, however, was not to be denied. He hurried through the city looking for another house; and on finding one that was "very comfortable indeed," he succeeded in getting Lyman's approval the day before Lyman left for America.⁸ Heber believed his predecessor's approbation was important, the senior apostle's judgment washing better at home than his own.⁹

As the new home was made over for the Mormons' use, the Grants, despite Emily's earlier protest, briefly endured the perils of 42 Islington. The interval prompted some doggerel: "The horrors of that place you no doubt have heard," one of the Grant daughters penned. "Of the drunkards, the noise and the grime; / The three months we spent there just served to make us / Feel that 10 Holly Road was sublime."¹⁰ Grant claimed the old place failed to yield him a single "peaceful night's rest."¹¹

On the other hand, Grant thought the new residence as quiet as "any of the

farm houses in Waterloo." "I sleep fine and enjoy hearing the birds sing in the morning," he noted. He chose an upstairs bedroom for his sleeping quarters and office redoubt. When working in the city he often stationed himself there from early morning to past ten in the evening, his index fingers pounding correspondence on his diminutive "Blick" typewriter. Not counting an attic and basement, there were nine other rooms. The greeting room or parlor served as the meeting hall for the Saints in Liverpool, with religious services scheduled several times on Sunday and a service on Wednesday evening. The basement housed the clamorous presses of the mission periodical, the *Millennial Star*. Outside the house the Grant girls planted flowers and a vegetable garden of lettuce and radishes. "No. 10, Holly Road" would be the Grants' home for the rest of their Liverpool stay.¹²

President Grant approached his official duties soberly. "I am in England in answer to my prayers to the Lord and I hope to do all the good that it is possible for me to do."¹³ Such avowals, coupled with his gaunt and hurried exterior, might have seemed forbidding to his youthful missionaries. As it was, his outward austerity vanished on proximity. A day or two after Lyman's departure, a member of the Liverpool staff inquired about the possibility of shaving his beard. Elder Lyman, thinking facial hair added dignity, had made beards a matter of mission discipline.¹⁴ Grant, in contrast, immediately awarded the elder's request, feigning fear that the young man's crimson whiskers might occasion a fire.¹⁵ Such bonhomie became the rule. The mission president and his staff (most of whom soon appeared close-shaven) might good-naturedly tease an elder's heavy Scottish diction or deflate another's prolonged and pompous phrases.¹⁶ Nor did Elder Grant object to occasional diversion. First the elders tried cricket in the mission headquarters' high-walled, spacious backyard.¹⁷ But cricket was soon forgotten with the installation of a tennis court. "Member how you used to whack 'em over the netting with the speed of a Colt .45? Wham!" recalled one of the missionaries years later.¹⁸

Despite Liverpool's "rich brown November mists," tennis became an office passion. Grant found it to be his best sport since baseball. For one thing it was efficient. "With tennis one can step out and play for a short time and then drop it," he analyzed.¹⁹ But if his enthusiastic letters to friends in Salt Lake City were an accurate index, his playing was not so discreetly programmed. One of his daughters agreed, writing, "Our father just loved . . . [the game] and played all he could, between conferences, meetings, and trips."²⁰ Always conscious of his fragile nerves, Grant had no difficulty justifying the activity. "I eat and sleep better by taking this pleasure. Physical exercise by using dumb bells may be equally as beneficial but it certainly is very annoying to me," he wrote to one of his wives at home.²¹

The new mission president refused to stand on ceremony or allow his age or high office to distance him from his subordinates. Perhaps as a result, a bond quickly grew between the impressionable missionaries and their leader. New elders usually first met him at the Holly Road meeting room, where one recalled that his instructions were "brief, inspiring, lovable, and full of the spirit of the Lord."²² Rather than exhortation or pulpit-pounding, President Grant's style was democratic. He typically would ask each of the novices to join a covenant with him to do their best and serve their mutual God.²³ During the missionaries' later experience, he

was equally open, sharing both the problems of the mission and details of his own personal or business life. Unfortunately, talk soon begat talk, and echoes of his conversation were heard in distant Salt Lake City, where some church officials murmured disapprovingly of his undignified talkativeness.²⁴

Much of his talk to missionaries was fatherly counsel, with two themes dominating. First, he repeatedly urged his young charges to observe standards and keep commandments. And there was a frequent corollary: "We were . . . [told] to avoid wine and women like we would the gates of hell," recalled future General Authority LeGrand Richards.²⁵ Among President Grant's most distressing tasks was the excommunication of the handful of elders who strayed sexually. "I would a hundred times rather send the body of an Elder home in a coffin than to have to notify his family that he had transgressed the laws of chastity and been cut off from the Church," he wrote in his diary.²⁶ Of course, church law on the matter was inexorable.

A second theme was as much to the point. He counseled the missionaries to work hard. "It did not take long to find out [what kind of leadership you would provide]," mused one of Elder Lyman's holdovers. "For with characteristic frankness you struck straight out from the shoulder and showed by your leadership that the way to go ahead was to push and keep on pushing."²⁷ Everywhere the trump sounded. "Work, work, work," proclaimed the *Millennial Star*. President Grant's private correspondence was as firm. "You both have my love and respect," he wrote to two wayward missionaries, "but I have felt for many months that you were taking things altogether too easy."²⁸ Grant himself set the example. In happy contrast to languid Japan, where he had previously served as mission president, he now discovered himself outpacing even his old entrepreneurial pace. "I can truthfully say that I have never worked more hours in my life per day than I have since I arrived in Liverpool," he wrote to a colleague in Salt Lake City.²⁹

Their mission president's openness, friendship, advice, and example were powerful tonics to his youthful cohorts. "Nothing unusual happened," wrote a member of the office staff one day. "We observed Pres. Grant's golden rule today — 'Work. Work. Work.' " Throughout the mission, productivity soared. Each year of his presidency, despite a slight decline in his missionary force, the British Mission increased its street meetings, private gospel conversions, baptisms, and especially distribution of literature, which by 1906, the last year of his presidency, assumed avalanche proportions. That year four million tracts were distributed, or about eighteen thousand for each elder.³⁰

To Elder Lyman, who was monitoring his successor's work in Salt Lake City, the tempo appeared "super human," perhaps immoderate. Grant, however, was confident he had not lost perspective. Most elders, he said, were not overworked one bit. They might put in at most six hours of "real work" daily, hardly sufficient to maintain a business position back home at ZCMI. He assured President Lyman that he wished only that each elder sense the holy spirit in his life and "satisfy his own conscience that he was a diligent worker for the spread of truth."³¹

None of the activity of Elder Grant and his missionaries, however, produced the conversions the Mormons desired. "It is the gleaning after the vintage is over," one Mormon leader despaired. A young elder put the matter more quaintly, com-

menting that the Mormon missionary effort was "gleaning the wheat field after the chickens have been turned in."³² President Lyman's last year netted 472 baptisms, down from 581 the year before. President Grant's first year saw convert baptisms rise to 602, and from there the total grew with annual ten percent increases.³³ These numbers, while significant to the struggling missionaries, were dwarfed by Great Britain's 37 million turn-of-the-century population.

The main reason for the Mormons' poor showing lay with their image. The British public saw the Saints as strange if not licentious, an image stemming largely from the Mormon practice of plural marriage, which the Fleet Street tabloids played on with merciless delight. Grant had been in England only a few months when one of the press's periodic outbursts began. Riding a train from London's St. Pancras station to the mission headquarters in Liverpool, he noticed a disturbing advertisement on newspaper placards at each succeeding railroad station: "London *Sun*: A Protest Against Mormonism." The editorial was in response to the possible seating of Apostle Reed Smoot to the United States Senate.³⁴

At length Grant himself also became a target. He had left Salt Lake City for Europe hastily to avoid the cohabitation charges that had been drawn to embarrass the church and Smoot just prior to the Senate hearings. Now the press used the matter for lurid suggestion. And with newspapers selling, still more imaginative stories were published. One supposedly told of an English girl's conversion to Mormonism and her subsequent life in Utah. According to the narrative, when she arrived in Utah she had been shackled, stripped, and displayed before the wife-hunting Mormon authorities, who "prodded [her] as men prod cattle which they are about to purchase." Forced to work the fields under the flogging watch of the first wife, the woman toiled "harder than the brutes which drew the plow." Then there was a fortunate turn of events. The "monster to whom she was married" died, a victim of appetite and overindulgence. Back in England where her tale could be told, the heroine later learned of the fate of her sister, who had also joined the Mormons. She had been found dead, broken by similar brutalities, with a lifeless babe pressed to her breast.³⁵

In other times the fanciful melodrama might have been allowed to die of its own weight. But with emotions running high, Heber Grant determined the story and others like it had to be checked. Counseling with his youthful staff, he decided to visit the London editors immediately and engaged a railroad berth for that evening. At the editorial office of one of the most active anti-Mormon newspapers, he asked for a single column to rebut the ten or twelve stories already published. To buttress his position, he laid before the editor several letters of recommendation and asked the newspaper to get similar certificates from those attacking the Mormons.

"It does not make any difference what you have," was the response. "We will not publish anything that you have to say."

Grant started for the door, then paused. "The young man who ushered me upstairs told me your name was Robinson. Is that correct?" he said.

"It is."

"Do you know Phil Robinson?"

"Everybody knows Phil Robinson."

"Did he represent the London *Telegraph*, one of the *two* greatest . . . London newspapers during the Boer War?"

Grant's questions had less to do with establishing Robinson's credentials than drawing a distinction between the *Telegraph* and the editor's own newspaper. He then produced a copy of Robinson's kindly treatment of the Mormons, *Sinners and Saints*, and challenged the editor to buy the book and read it, commenting, "You will find everything in your paper is a lie pure and simple. It will only cost you two shillings, and if that is too expensive I will be very glad to purchase it and present it to you with my compliments." Grant's efforts, however, brought no results. Though he promised the Mormons a half column, the editor returned the proposed article two or three months later, claiming that he had been unable to find space.³⁶

British fair play was not always so muted, and Grant, with several of his talented elders providing copy, managed to place several items with the press. But the tide flowed strongly against them. During the height of anti-Mormon crusade, a "howling" and rock-throwing mob gathered outside the London headquarters. At a Mormon meeting in Finsbury, an agitator grabbed the podium, harangued for two hours, and then concluded by putting on a large belt and slouch hat (he apologized for not carrying a revolver) and proclaimed himself a Mormon "Danite." Outside the hall, two thoroughly incensed ladies, each representing the Mormon and anti-Mormon view, had to be pulled apart by their husbands.³⁷ Following the incident, aldermen refused to allow the Mormons to rent the building again, despite their record of almost ten years' responsible use.³⁸

Tensions were almost as high on the continent. "The papers are full of the Mormon question," Grant's subordinate, President Hugh J. Cannon of the German Mission, reported, "and almost without exception the reports are unfavorable." Four elders were banished from Saxony, and Prussian officials made ominous inquiries about the missionaries' day-to-day activities. The city of Dresden forbade any Mormon meetings and threatened the Saints with a fine of three hundred marks and six months' imprisonment if they ignored the ordinance. Scrambling to maintain their presence in Germany, the missionaries quietly changed their passport registration from clerical to student status, a maneuver that Grant's conscience admitted was "somewhat underhanded," though seemingly necessary.³⁹

In Britain the tumult was over within three weeks, but for the rest of Grant's presidency, harassment and difficulty continued as a matter of course.⁴⁰ During one two-week period, police at both Swindon and Sunderland advised the elders that they would be unable to protect their proselyting, citing overwhelmingly adverse public opinion.⁴¹ At Bristol, Watford, and Southampton, Mormon services were broken up by sectarian opponents. In the latter city, small boys were given candy to encourage rowdyism.⁴² Opponents at Bedford used a similar scheme. Conditions were peaceful until the elders mentioned the name of Joseph Smith. Then Protestant Sunday School children, well coached and imported for the occasion, interrupted the service with songs and shouting. Eventually the adult leaders of the disturbance were marched off by the town's constabulary.⁴³

The Mormons often won support by their good behavior. The *Daily Mail* noted

their "quiet conviction" and "apparent absence of enthusiasm," even as the cries of protestors disrupted their meeting. When agitators seized control of a meeting at Bradford, the elders quietly passed out tracts and then left the scene, thereby earning police praise for "the proper Christian spirit" and the promise of future protection. In Liverpool, Detective Inspector Yates, first dispatched to investigate the Mormons, later became a friend. The gap between the Mormons' actual behavior and their public caricature was so wide as to be disarming.⁴⁴

Elder Grant's presidency reflected the prevailing persecution. Though he had little hope of securing popular acceptance for his people, his sermons repeatedly spoke of Christian burden. "A member's faith will not be shaken by the wave of persecution that is spreading over the country," he declared. "Persecution is the heritage of every faithful follower of Christ." Opposition carried virtue. It strengthened and refined, making the Latter-day Saints, whatever their public image, a growing "factor for good in the earth."⁴⁵

His sermons also emphasized Mormon uniqueness, speaking less of the Bible than of the Book of Mormon, and often less of Jesus Christ than of Joseph Smith, for Mormonism's founding prophet conveyed for President Grant the gospel whole. Outward observance, such as the payment of tithing or compliance with the Word of Wisdom, also drew his attention. In a time of siege, external manifestations of discipleship were important. His most frequent speaking device was to comment item by item on Joseph Smith's thirteen Articles of Faith, sprinkled with illustrative stories and personal anecdotes. Invariably, the allotted time proved insufficient for his rapid-fire delivery.

It was while he was behind the pulpit that some thought him at his best.⁴⁶ Here he could give range to his conviction and personality—testifying, admonishing, rebuking, persuading, assuring, sometimes all in a single torrent. He was not given to precision or forethought, for like his father, Jedediah M. Grant, he was not an intellectual. He was an exhorter. Words were meant to motivate, not just inform. The result was often successful. "I have never [since] doubted that you are a servant of the Lord," wrote one missionary after hearing one of his impassioned sermons. "You spoke . . . as one having authority, and you spoke with power."⁴⁷

Behind his forceful public words, a softer view often prevailed. When he was questioned about his Word of Wisdom proscriptions, his response was pliant: preferably, the Saints should drink cocoa or a beverage sometimes used at the time, "hot water milk and sugar." But for the life-long English tea drinker, he counseled patience. "I have not felt to keep after them to that extent that they would feel that they were not worthy of being counted as good saints," he said. On another occasion he acknowledged the superior virtue of many who had been unable to keep the health code. Indeed, he thought the struggling nonobserver might be considered for church office as the "Spirit of the Lord should direct" when more worthy candidates could not be found.⁴⁸

President Grant was seldom content with the status quo. To the First Presidency, he dispatched unwelcome suggestions aimed at improving Salt Lake City office procedures.⁴⁹ He was convinced that Great Britain should have a small Mormon temple to administer the church's higher ordinances. "This may be a day dream,"

he conceded, "but I can't quite get it out of my head."⁵⁰ To burnish Mormonism's public image, he asked young Mormons studying music in Europe to perform at missionary conferences and even staged a favorably reviewed but scantily attended concert at Hull. The program featured three Utah artists: Arvilla Clark, Willard Andelin, and Martha Read.⁵¹

He was constantly on the move, traveling third-class on British rail. (He once joked, "People ask why 'Mormons' always travel third class, and the answer is, 'Because there is no fourth class.'"⁵²) During one eight-month period, he was in Liverpool only one Sunday. He hoped to go to South Africa, Turkey, and India, and perhaps to revisit Japan, but for the time being he was preoccupied with western Europe. Not quite halfway through his mission, he had toured each of the British conferences three times. By 1905 he had visited Holland five times, Scandinavia and Germany three times, Switzerland twice, and France at least once. "I am kept busy," he said. Far from a lament, especially after his ordeal in Japan, his words carried satisfaction.⁵³

There was a private life to these years, centering on Emily. When Heber J. Grant was called to Japan in 1901, the seniority of his wife Augusta gave her claim to that exotic and exciting experience. But his typical fair dealing with his wives reasserted itself when, after returning from Japan, he received the European Mission assignment. Augusta had accompanied him to Japan. Now it was Emily's turn to be with him.⁵⁴

Had the choice of the two tours been hers, Emily certainly would have selected Europe. European tradition and culture had fascinated her from childhood, and now she was anxious to experience Europe's sites and sounds. She traveled often with her husband on his preaching assignments, leaving the younger children with Fia Wahlgren, the family's nanny. This gave her the opportunity to sightsee while Heber conducted meetings and interviews. At first, when time and business permitted, he joined her, but as his mission progressed he was content to attend to duty and grant Emily her leave. Her pace was indefatigable, testing the limits of even the older Grant children, who sometimes accompanied her.⁵⁵

Now graying with middle age, Emily remained very much alive. Her energy stemmed not only from the legendary curiosity she had inherited from her Wells ancestors, but also from a sense of liberation. The days of clandestine living on the underground were behind her. For half a dozen years she had lived openly in Salt Lake City society; yet, whatever her improving station, England offered emotional release. For the first time, polygamy was not an overriding concern. She and Heber had each other to themselves, and they both felt a new intimacy. "I am getting better acquainted with Emily," he confided rather strangely in a letter home.⁵⁶ It was as if the couple were honeymooning instead of beginning the nineteenth year of their marriage. They both later remembered their English experience as idyllic, a time of "perfect home life."⁵⁷ For Emily, these were certainly her happiest years. "Mamma did so thoroughly enjoy every minute of the time there," Dessie wrote to her father many years later. "She said she had enjoyed being with you more than anyone on earth could possibly know."⁵⁸

It was also an exciting time for the Grant children. Without formal or higher

schooling himself, their father nevertheless prized education and hoped that his family could make the best of his calling by encountering Europe firsthand. Within weeks of his arrival in England, he had sent Dessie and Grace to London for vocal training.⁵⁹ He later enrolled two of his daughters in schools in Berlin, and always, especially under Emily's enthusiastic prodding, the children were encouraged to see historic sites and attend concerts. There was, however, a limit to President Grant's enthusiasm for culture. When Edith's voice teacher in Liverpool recommended that she get advanced study for a possible professional career, the churchman wanted none of it. Instead of a professional career, he hoped that his daughter might use her talent in a more conventional role, singing "lullabies to her own babies."⁶⁰ He was unmistakably relieved when Edith, who no doubt sensed her father's feelings, decided to forgo advanced training.

Not wishing to limit Europe's advantages to Emily's children, Heber at first hoped that all ten of his daughters might join him, and he even considered having Augusta cross the Atlantic as well. But with church officials in Salt Lake City expressing growing misgiving about his family's activities, he finally imposed a limit on the number of his children who could be in Europe at a single moment, giving each a turn by rotating them in and out of the Liverpool mission home.⁶¹ New arrivals brought excitement. "Have been counting the hours all day," he once wrote in his diary. "Day moved like the gait of a snail. My daughters Anna and Mary will be here this evening."⁶²

Grant later conceded the wisdom of the warnings he received, as even his diminished involvement in his family's activities brought criticism from some impoverished Saints who saw them as extravagant. Others assumed that the family's expenses were met by the church. Grant, however, prided himself that he had paid every mite and farthing himself, including the children's boarding costs while they lived at Holly Road. These and other expenses were substantial. The final cost of the family's European experience was some ten thousand dollars.⁶³

There were interludes that were biographically revealing. Emily, bright and confident in private relationships, sometimes faltered in her new setting. While visiting London with some of the girls, she was approached by a young man selling strawberries. At two shillings a box, the berries were expensive but attractive. The elders would certainly enjoy them. Surrendering a ten-shilling gold piece, she waited while the vendor went to a nearby store to make change. Minutes passed. Finally Grace went to learn the reason for the delay. "Yes, I saw the boy come in," the man behind the counter said, "but he didn't buy anything. He just walked through the store and out the back door." To make matters worse, Emily learned that the box of berries had a single layer of fruit. The boy had propped up a few strawberries on several layers of leaves.⁶⁴

Heber had his own embarrassment. Shortly after the family arrived in Liverpool, six-year-old Frances proved herself an able mimic of Liverpool's accents and street talk. "My dear," her father corrected, "those are not nice words and I don't want you to use them. I'll have to wash out your mouth."

At breakfast several days later, Elder Grant, always a spirited raconteur, told a story containing a few words of colorful dialogue. Little Frances overheard and

commented, "Papa, you washed my mouth out for saying those words, and now you're saying them."

Wondering how he might explain to the little child the distinction of *using* words as opposed to *recounting* them, her father pled guilty. "So I did, my dear," he said, "and I shouldn't say them any more than you should. Would you like to wash my mouth out?"

She would—and did. "From that moment I knew that my father would be absolutely fair in all his dealings with me," she later remembered. Heber also learned a lesson. When telling future stories, he invariably substituted the phrase "*with emphasis*" for any objectionable four-letter words.⁶⁵

President Grant often fretted about his health. Though his tensions eased while he was in England, as his mission progressed he found himself unable to sleep past three or four in the morning. He learned to live with this disability, reading and writing during the early morning hours and then taking a compensating nap after lunch.⁶⁶ This unheard-of allowance was part of a new health-care program that apparently had begun with a prescription from Francis M. Lyman. Before dressing, Grant accordingly took "breathing exercises"—one hundred deep breaths. Then he kneaded his stomach for five minutes, followed by fifteen minutes of "physical culture," mild calisthenics that stretched and toned his muscles.⁶⁷ He would continue these exercises the rest of his life.

Later in the afternoon, if he felt tired, he might sit at the mission home piano and pick out a few hymns with his index finger. After a refreshing thirty or forty-five minutes, he would then return to work.⁶⁸ Clearly, he wished to slow his pace. "I try to eat slow and think slow and walk deliberately," he declared. "These things are all new to my way of living."⁶⁹

As always, Grant measured his health by the ebbs and flows of his waistline. At first he thought he might put on weight by sheer perseverance, by strictly maintaining his exercise and tension-reducing program. He was rewarded by a quick twenty-pound gain. But as his mission continued, he slimmed down to his former 137 pounds and found, to his disappointment, that he could once more wear the clothes he had brought from America.⁷⁰ There was, however, one important by-product to his efforts. Now feeling rested and stronger, he could, for the first time since his physical breakdown in Tooele almost twenty years earlier, pass a couch or chair without wanting to rest. For years he had pushed himself onward through the force of his strong will.⁷¹

He had thought that his European mission might allow him to continue a long-postponed study program he had started in Japan. During the early months, he tried to navigate ten pages a day in such faith-promoting books as Heber C. Kimball's *Journal* and George Q. Cannon's *My First Mission*. He augmented these selections with five pages in the Doctrine and Covenants and by memorizing one verse daily. But like his weight-increasing program, he found that the longer he remained in Liverpool, the less successful he was. He increasingly allowed other priorities to crowd out his studies.⁷²

While in England Grant encountered another book that had great influence on him, not only because of its contents but also for the practice it began. Pausing

one day in the editorial office of the *Millennial Star*, he casually thumbed through a slender volume, *The Power of Truth* by William George Jordan, a former editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*. Grant found himself captured by the author's simple phrases and practical lessons. He read the volume seven times and began to liberally salt his sermons with its messages. "I know of no book of the same size, that has made a more profound impression upon my mind," he wrote enthusiastically to Jordan, "and whose teachings I consider of greater value."⁷³

Grant decided the book deserved wide circulation. Inquiring of the publishers, he learned that of the original five thousand copies printed, only a few hundred had been sold. The rest were scheduled for the incinerator. Grant immediately purchased these as well as the book's copyright and began to mark and inscribe copies for friends. Before leaving Europe he ordered another one thousand copies printed.⁷⁴ Due to his constant and impassioned boosting, the book eventually gained popularity in Utah.

Thus began one of Heber J. Grant's characteristic hobbies: buying hundreds and sometimes thousands of copies of books for distribution to friends. More than simple book-giving on a grand scale, the activity fit into his view of what a man of his interests and standing should do. Despite his ecclesiastical calling, he continued to dress, act, and conform to the best standards of the Gilded Age's entrepreneurs, which meant, at least in his eyes, employing his means for social and cultural betterment. He had long shown an interest in the paintings of Utah naturalist John Hafen, and while in Europe his patronage continued with the promising mezzo-soprano Arvilla Clark and with the painting of two Utahns studying in Paris, Mahonri Young and Leo Fairbanks.⁷⁵

Grant's dealings with Fairbanks showed how strong his sense of social obligation was. The apostle did not enjoy Fairbanks's technique and chided him for his frequent violation of Victorian mood and sensibility ("The height of art in the estimation of most men is to me the height of that which all modest people should resent," he said).⁷⁶ Yet he was repeatedly supportive, attempting to find Salt Lake City buyers for Fairbanks's work and personally subsidizing it. "You do not need to worry about not having enough money to take you home [from France]," he assured the artist. "You can spend all of your money [for study], and I promise to let you have money to take you home."⁷⁷

Grant's sightseeing activities bore little of the small-town cant and forced obligation that characterized some *nouveau riche* of the period. He clearly took pleasure in cultural affairs, though his descriptive comments sometimes betrayed the eye of a beginner.⁷⁸ He noted that he "enjoyed . . . very much" *Much Ado About Nothing* at His Majesty's Theatre and used the same phrase a week later to describe *The Scarlet Pimpernel*. He found an unnamed opera at Covent Gardens "too classical" and lacking "sweet music," but had a decidedly warmer reaction to his introduction to Wagner's *Lobengrin*. He labeled the singing of world-renowned contralto Clara Butt "splendid entertainment" (one of the Grant party sent the artist congratulatory flowers); and after hearing Handel's oratorio *Elijah*, he enthusiastically resolved to "get something of this kind" performed by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.⁷⁹

He explored the wonders of the continent with equal gusto. Seeing Rembrandt's *Night Drill* in Rotterdam so impressed him that he wanted a copy.⁸⁰ In Paris he thought the Sacré Coeur "the most magnificent architectural structure I have ever seen," and the Louvre left him literally speechless ("The painting and sculpture must be seen to be appreciated—I shall attempt no description of what I saw," he wrote). In France he also visited Cluny Museum, Sainte Chapelle, the Palace of Justice, Les Invalides, Versailles, the Eiffel Tower (going to the top), and the Tuileries.⁸¹ In Dresden, Germany, he attended the Royal Opera House, the circus, and the beer gardens. The latter afforded "some beautiful music by one of the finest bands in Germany," but of course no transgressing alcohol. He did, however, ruefully concede that the spectacle of "apostle Grant" spending a Sunday evening at a German beer garden would be enough, if the news leaked to Salt Lake City, to make some Saints faint.⁸²

With Emily at his side, he noted that at times "sight seeing is about the hardest work I have ever done."⁸³ But there were other moments of almost boyish romp. On his fourth tour of the Scandinavian branches, he asked his companions how they wished to celebrate the Fourth of July. He answered his own question by announcing an intention to call on King Oscar. When they arrived at Rosendal Palace, the king's summer residence, the Mormons noted how scanty security seemed. President Grant waited until the guard in front of the palace reached the edge of his prescribed back-and-forth march and pivoted to return. Taking a single Swedish-speaking elder with him, he fell quickly behind the guard for a few steps and then hastily made for the door.

"I wish to see the king," Grant told the startled chamberlain. To buttress his case, he quickly penciled a note: "To His Majesty King Oscar. I am here with a party from Utah, U.S.A.—fifteen in number. If you will allow us the pleasure of shaking hands with you on this day we Americans celebrate we shall feel highly honored and duly grateful." He enclosed a letter of introduction from Heber Wells, Governor of Utah, and mentioned additional letters from both Utah senators, if needed.

Grant's daring paid off. To the surprise of everyone of the Mormon party with the possible exception of their leader, the king soon appeared—"a magnificent specimen of manhood," Grant thought. He first spoke in Swedish, but graciously switched to English on learning that the majority of the Americans could not understand him.

The interview consisted largely of pleasantries, but there was one subject that the Americans found reassuring. Thanking His Majesty for the religious liberty they enjoyed in his Norwegian and Swedish realms, the Mormons received a forceful reply. "Liberty! yes, that is best," Oscar responded. "I do not desire in any way to hinder any from worshiping God as their conscience leads them." He then added a statement that perhaps explained his willingness to meet with them. "I have representatives traveling in various sections of the United States," the Mormons in later years remembered him saying, "and the reports I receive indicate that my former subjects in Utah are happier and more prosperous, and getting along better [there] than in any other part of the United States." With this, he broke off the ten-

minute exchange with a "God be with you all" and an "adieu," then stepped back into his residence.⁸⁴

Near the end of his mission, Grant received permission from President Joseph F. Smith for a final sightseeing foray into Italy. Surviving photographs show Emily and Heber exploring the wonders of Venice's St. Mark's and the ruins of Pompeii ("the day has been one of the most intensely interesting of my life," he noted). They also explored the catacombs and toured St. Peter's Cathedral in the Vatican. Heber declared the latter "more wonderful than any building I have ever seen." Even the weather smiled benediction, with the sky bright and crystal blue. If the European Mission years were the *crème* of their marriage, their twenty-three-day trip to Italy was the *crème de la crème*.

President Grant returned from his Italian travels sobered by news of his deteriorating finances. With Philippine sugar steadily dominating American markets, his portfolio of intermountain sugar stocks had badly slumped. He attempted to be philosophical: "I am now worse off than when I came on this mission. . . . Such is life."⁸⁵

For a moment he wondered if his Italian trip had been wise. But the costs of his touring, whether in Italy or elsewhere, were easily justified. While he had traveled widely in America as a businessman and churchman, his European experience was an important supplement to his education. It introduced to him European grandeur, history, and achievement and provided cultural balance and perspective. Perhaps as important, his travels also gave him a renewed appreciation for his own heritage. As he watched people in Italy genuflect before icons, he expressed quiet appreciation for the simple worship of his own faith.⁸⁶ And the socially conscious entrepreneur within him sensed something terribly disproportionate about Europe's bejeweled shrines. Couldn't the precious gems and obvious wealth of the cathedrals finance manufacturing institution after manufacturing institution to "furnish the poor people employment"?⁸⁷

With the exception of his Italian tour, most of Grant's sightseeing and concert-going was at an end after his first three or four months in Europe. Following his initial excitement, he was surprised how little the theater billboards interested him as he bore in on the demands of his mission.⁸⁸ And as his mission drew to a close, there was no looking back. "I shall be able to go home feeling that I have done about as well as I could have," he wrote a friend. "I did not go home from Japan with this feeling."⁸⁹

The mission ended with a spiritual crescendo. During his presidency, he found his meetings with mission leaders to be especially helpful. By the summer of 1906 he resolved to hold at Bradford the first modern assembly of all elders stationed in Britain. To supplement costs, he requested money from Utah donors; and when accommodations proved inadequate, the elders volunteered to sleep three in a bed, if necessary. The results were pentecostal. The conference was "the best and most spirited . . . I have ever attended," remembered young Hugh B. Brown. "President Grant spoke with great power. . . . Most every elder wept with joy." Others confirmed the extraordinary spirit. "Some [missionaries] whose testimonies were

weak said, 'Now I know.' Many even of the most energetic Elders were heard to say that they had received a great awakening touch."⁹⁰

One elder thought President Grant's face glowed with special luminiscence when he addressed the conference. For his part, Grant could never recall laboring under such a spiritual endowment. He struggled repeatedly to retain emotional control. "I do not know that I have ever felt my own insignificance and the magnitude of the work in which I am engaged," he reported to his mother. The experience seemed to validate his entire mission experience. "I can now realize more fully than I have ever done before that it is impossible to have greater joy than one experiences in the missionary field."⁹¹

Late in the evening an elder wondered if another spiritual event might be taking place. He awakened to hear what seemed like distant singing. Rising up on an elbow, he felt the reassuring hand of President Grant, his bed companion, who confessed he had been trying to sing himself to sleep after the heavily charged conference.⁹² Indeed, for several days the excited apostle found it hard to return to a normal routine. Instead, he walked through the mission home and repeatedly rejoiced with his office staff over their experience.⁹³ The conference also stirred the missionaries. The total of tracts distributed jumped each month to an unprecedented 450,000, or more than five hundred for each missionary.⁹⁴

By the end of 1905 Heber J. Grant was ready to return home. Except for two short intervals, and counting his service in Japan, he had been away from headquarters four years. He had already served in England twice as long as the one-year mission that President Smith had promised at the time of his call. "I have had about as much of . . . [missionary service] as I care for in one dose," he admitted, "but I feel that I can and will be happy just as long as the Lord wants me here."⁹⁵ First he thought his release might come in the spring; then he hoped for the summer. But with the Smoot controversy continuing in America, church authorities were in no hurry to disturb already troubled waters by releasing Grant with cohabitation charges against him still pending.⁹⁶

Finally, in October 1906, Grant learned that he would be permitted to return to Salt Lake City in time for Christmas. There were the usual farewell fetes. The British missionaries presented him with a Rembrandt print and an engraved gold watch. There was also a party at the Holly Road meeting room, with recitations, vocal and piano solos, speeches, and refreshments. As the Grant family drove to the Liverpool docks, rain and wind pushed against their omnibus.⁹⁷ The seas would be heavy for their trip home.

In later years, there was an afterglow to Heber's three years in Europe, in part, no doubt, because of the approaching death of Emily, who even as they sailed from Liverpool was ill with undiagnosed stomach cancer. England, finally, had been her time, a time when she and her husband culminated their relationship. Heber also sensed a spiritual bequest. Over succeeding years, until his death almost forty years later, his judgment of his years in Europe never wavered. "I got nearer to the Lord, and accomplished more, and had more joy while in the mission field than ever before or since," he said.⁹⁸

NOTES

1. *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* [hereafter *Millennial Star*] 65 (December 3, 1903): 779. Because current LDS archival policy limits the access and use of materials, many footnote citations have not been verified. When citing material from the Heber J. Grant [hereafter Grant] Papers, which are lodged at the LDS Library-Archives [hereafter LDS Archives], I have supplied box and folder information only in those cases where access cannot be established by using the Grant register.
2. *Millennial Star* 68 (August 2, 1906): 492; Grant to Joseph E. Taylor, January 25, 1904, Letterpress copybook [hereafter Letterbook] 38:217, Grant Collection.
3. Frances Grant Bennett, *Glimpses of a Mormon Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1968), 7-8.
4. Orson F. Whitney, *Through Memory's Halls* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1930), 141-42.
5. Grant to Joseph Hyrum Grant, March 4, 1904, Letterbook 38:408.
6. Anthon H. Lund Diary, October 8, 1903, LDS Archives; Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [hereafter Journal History], October 9, 1903, LDS Archives.
7. First Presidency to Lyman, November 12, 1903, First Presidency Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
8. Remarks at the funeral of Henry M. O'Gorman, August 21, 1930, Box 192, Folder 8; Grant Typed Diary, January 17, 1904, Grant Papers.
9. Grant to Anthon H. Lund, September 30, 1904, Box 3, Folder 12; Grant to Jesse N. Smith, December 8, 1904, Letterbook 39:177-78.
10. Emily Grant Madsen, "The European Mission," written in commemoration of Grant's seventy-first birthday, November 22, 1927, in Letterbook 66:2.
11. Grant to Jesse N. Smith, December 8, 1904, Letterbook 39:177-78; Grant to Alma O. Taylor, May 5, 1904, Letterbook 38:614.
12. Grant to Jesse N. Smith, December 8, 1904, Letterbook 39:177-78; Grant to Hamilton G. Park, June 16, 1905, Letterbook 39:867; Grant to John T. Caine, November 28, 1905, Letterbook 40:574-75.
13. Grant Typed Diary, January 1, 1904.
14. Bennett, *Glimpses of a Mormon Family*, 16.
15. Grant to Rufus D. Johnson, January 30, 1935, Letterbook 72:146.
16. Rufus D. Johnson to Grant, November 21, 1940, General Correspondence, Grant Papers.
17. Madsen, "The European Mission."
18. Rufus Johnson to Grant, November 22, 1937, Box 179, Folder 11; Grant to Johnson, December 3, 1937, Box 179, Folder 11.
19. Rufus Johnson to Grant, November 22, 1937, Box 179, Folder 11; Grant to Rachel Ivins Grant, October 11, 1905, Letterbook 40:365.
20. Madsen, "The European Mission."
21. Grant to Rachel Ivins Grant, October 17, 1905, Letterbook 40:400.
22. R. Eugene Allen, "The Mission President in Europe," *Improvement Era* 39 (November 1936): 694.
23. Grant Typed Diary, May 6, 1905.
24. B. F. Grant to Grant, August 5, 1905, General Correspondence.
25. LeGrand Richards to Gordon Irving, February 2, 1982, letter intended as a postscript to an oral interview by Ronald W. Walker, in author's possession.
26. Grant Typed Diary, August 19, 1904.
27. Nicholas G. Smith to Grant, February 19, 1917, General Correspondence.
28. *Millennial Star* 66 (May 5, 1904): 274; Grant to D. W. J. and S. G. S., February 3, 1906, Letterbook 40:864.
29. Grant to George Teasdale, January 18, 1906, Letterbook 40:818.
30. *Conference Report*, April 1907, p. 36; Grant to Hyrum S. Woolley, May 19, 1905, Letterbook 39:746; Grant to Matthias F. Cowley, June 10, 1905, Letterbook 39:848.
31. Lyman to Grant, October 19, 1906, General Correspondence; for Grant's reply, see October 31, 1906, Letterbook 42:926-27. Grant had often made the same point to his missionaries. Without "the fire of the Spirit of the Lord," their labor, he assured them, was nothing. "Report of Priesthood Meeting in Netherlands and Belgium," in Grant Typed Diary, February 10, 1906.
32. Letter of Orson F. Whitney, *Deseret Evening News*, November 10, 1882, 2.

33. *Millennial Star* 66 (March 24, 1904): 183-84; 67 (March 30, 1905): 202-3, 205; 69 (February 28, 1907): 135. Richard L. Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1937), 244.
34. Grant Typed Diary, April 3 and 11, 1904; Grant to the First Presidency, April 19, 1904, Letterbook 38:556.
35. Copied in Grant Typed Diary, April 11, 1904.
36. Grant recounted his experience several times. Salt Lake Tabernacle Address, April 13, 1930, in Letterbook 67:766-68, and *Conference Report*, April 1909, 115. See also Grant Typed Diary, April 14, 1904, and Grant to E. C. Branson, March 2, 1926, Letterbook 64:136-37.
37. London *Daily Mail*, April 11, 1904, 3.
38. Grant to First Presidency, April 19, 1904, Joseph F. Smith Correspondence, Smith Papers, LDS Archives; *Millennial Star* 66 (June 2, 1904): 348.
39. Grant to First Presidency, June 21, 1904, Joseph F. Smith Correspondence; *Millennial Star* 66 (May 19, September 1, and October 6, 1904): 315, 555, 619.
40. Grant to First Presidency, May 4, 1904, Joseph F. Smith Correspondence.
41. *Millennial Star* 67 and 68 (November 16, 1905, and January 4, 1906): 733 and 11 respectively.
42. *Millennial Star* 66 and 68 (June 2 and July 21, 1904; January 18, 1906): 348, 459, and 42 respectively; London *Daily Mail*, April 11, 1904, 3.
43. *Millennial Star* 66 (June 2, 1904): 348.
44. London *Daily Mail*, April 11, 1904, 3; *Millennial Star* 67 (August 24, 1905): 539-40; Rufus D. Johnson to Grant, November 20, 1943, General Correspondence.
45. *Millennial Star* 66 (April 14, 21, and 28, and May 12, 1904): 237, 252, 268, 300; *Millennial Star* 67 and 68 (March 16, 1905, and May 17, 1906): 175, 315.
46. Allen, "Mission President in Europe," 695.
47. Ed. M. Rowe to Grant, January 25, 1932, General Correspondence.
48. Grant to H. J. Lilley, November 22, 1904, Letterbook 39:120, and Grant to Wilford Booth, February 10, 1904, Letterbook 38:279.
49. Grant to the First Presidency, January 30 and September 28, 1904, Joseph F. Smith Correspondence.
50. Grant to R. W. Bryce Thomas, August 28 and October 4, 1906, Letterbook 42:759, 903; Grant Manuscript Diary, 1906, 86.
51. Hull *Daily Mail*, quoted in the *Millennial Star* 67 (March 9, 1905): 156-57.
52. *Conference Report*, October 1911, 24.
53. Grant Typed Diary, December 31, 1904; Grant to Hyrum S. Woolley, May 19, 1905, Letterbook 39:746; Grant to Marriner W. Merrill, November 3, 1905, Letterbook 40:467; Grant to Anthony W. Ivins, August 2, 1906, Letterbook 42:484.
54. Bennett, *Glimpses of a Mormon Family*, 1-2.
55. Grant to Susan Noble, November 18, 1894, Letterbook 39:110, and Grant to Grace Grant Evans, April 24, 1910, General Correspondence.
56. Grant to Susan Noble, November 18, 1894, Letterbook 39:110.
57. Grant to Grace Grant Evans, April 24, 1910, Family Correspondence.
58. Dessie Grant Boyle to Grant, January 1, 1911, and July 20, 1937, General Correspondence; also Lyde Wells to Grant, September 7, 1938, General Correspondence.
59. Lyman to Joseph F. Smith, January 2, 1904, Joseph F. Smith Correspondence.
60. Grant Typed Diary, June 2, 1932.
61. Lyman to Grant, June 29, 1905, First Presidency Letterbooks.
62. Grant Typed Diary, May 5, 1905.
63. Grant to Samuel B. Spry, March 22, 1937, First Presidency Letterbooks.
64. Bennett, *Glimpses of a Mormon Family*, 17-18.
65. Frances Grant Bennett, "Interview by the author," August 6, 1981, Salt Lake City, typescript, LDS Archives, and Bennett, *Glimpses of a Mormon Family*, 15-16.
66. Grant to Joseph M. Tanner, September 22, 1906, Letterbook 42:665-75, and Grant to John A. and Leah D. Widtsoe, December 25, 1935, General Correspondence.
67. Grant to Rachel Ivins Grant, January 8, 1904, Letterbook 38:10, and Grant to Joseph E. Taylor, January 25, 1904, Letterbook 38:218.

68. Grant to Van Grant, December 30, 1919, Letterbook 55:320.
69. Grant to Anthony W. Ivins, January 21, 1904, Letterbook 38:151-52.
70. Grant to Joseph E. Taylor, January 25, 1904, Letterbook 38:218; Grant to John B. Maiben, April 22, 1905, Letterbook 39:597; Grant to George Albert Smith, September 16, 1905, Letterbook 40:190.
71. Grant to Grace Grant Evans, April 12, 1925, Letterbook 63:146.
72. Grant Typed Diary, March 9 and 11 and April 1, 1904; Grant to Edward H. Anderson, October 20, 1906, Letterbook 42:865.
73. Grant to William George Jordan, October 5, 1907, General Correspondence.
74. Grant Typed Diary, January 1, 1906; Grant to Rudger Clawson, August 14, 1911, General Correspondence; Grant to Holman, March 25, 1939, Letterbook 77:567; and Grant to J. William Knight, December 19, 1940, Letterbook 79:502.
75. Grant Typed Diary, May 29, 1905.
76. Grant to Florence Grant, January 31, 1906, Letterbook 40:859.
77. Grant to J. Leo Fairbanks, January 24, 1904, and July 6, 1904, Letterbook 39:282 and 38:663 respectively.
78. Grant to B. F. Grant, June 28, 1904, Letterbook 38:672.
79. Grant Typed Diary, March 30, 1904; February 21 and 27, 1905; and March 7, 1905; Grant Manuscript Diary, June 10 and May 13, 1905.
80. Grant Typed Diary, February 12, 1904.
81. Grant Typed Diary, May 13, 1904.
82. Grant Typed Diary, June 5 and 11, 1904.
83. Grant Typed Diary, May 13, 1904.
84. Neither Grant's contemporary diary nor the *Millennial Star* report of the conversation had Oscar's statement about Scandinavian immigrants. It is preserved in reminiscent accounts by Grant and another Mormon who was present, Alex Nibley. For various accounts of the episode, Grant Typed Diary, July 4, 1906; *Millennial Star* 68 (July 19, 1906): 460-61; Grant Memorandum, n.d., Box 145, Folder 4; Memorandum, n.d., Letterbook 73:806-8; Alex Nibley to Grant, July 22, 1926, General Correspondence; Grant, "Remarks to a Boy Scout Convention, 1924," in Letterbook 61:807-8; Lucy Grant Cannon, "The Log of a European Tour," *Improvement Era* 40 (November 1937): 688.
85. Grant to Matthias F. Cowley, December 22, 1905, Letterbook 40:702.
86. Grant to James Dwyer, April 18, 1906, Letterbook 41:2.
87. Grant Typed Diary, March 1906.
88. Grant to Mary Grant, December 28, 1904, Letterbook 39:216.
89. Grant to John W. Taylor, October 5, 1906, Letterbook 42:783.
90. Grant Typed Diary, July 7 and 21, 1906; Grant to Alpha J. Higgs, July 16, 1906, Letterbook 42:429; Grant to Benjamin Goddard, n.d. [about July 26, 1906]; *Millennial Star* 68 (August 2, 1906): 489; Eugene E. Campell and Richard D. Poll, *Hugh B. Brown: His Life and Thought* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1975), p. 37.
91. Grant to Rachel Grant, July 25, 1906, Letterbook 42:469-70.
92. James R. Glenn to Grant, December 16, 1944, General Correspondence.
93. Grant to Ray Grant Taylor, July 28, 1906, Letterbook 42:450.
94. Grant to Francis M. Lyman, September 27, 1906, Letterbook 42:752.
95. Grant to Rachel Grant, October 4, 1905, Letterbook 40:324.
96. Grant to Emily Grant, June 27, 1906, General Correspondence; Grant to John Henry Smith, August 1, 1906, Letterbook 42:465.
97. Grant to First Presidency, Letterbook 43:43; Grant Typed Diary, November 22, 1906; Charles W. Penrose Diary, November 1906, Utah State Historical Society.
98. Quoted in Allen, "Mission President in Europe," 694-95.

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GRANT UNDERWOOD, "Saved or Damned: Tracing a Persistent Protestantism in Early Mormon Thought," *BYU Studies* 25 (Summer 1985): 85-103

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The Office of Presiding Patriarch: The Primacy Problem

E. Gary Smith

April 1841 — general conference time in Nauvoo. A time of optimism and stability for a people who had endured repeated hardships. The persecutions of New York, Ohio, and Missouri were behind them. Their Prophet had survived Liberty Jail and now stood before them, seemingly invincible. The State of Illinois had just granted their new city a charter that empowered, among other things, their own militia and university. During the times of persecution, simply surviving had been an all-consuming task. But 1841 was different.

On the first day of general conference, the Nauvoo Legion marched in grand procession to the temple site where, with appropriate ceremony, the cornerstones were laid.¹ On the second day of the conference, a revelation on church government, received by Joseph Smith on January 19, 1841, was read to the assembled Saints, directly from the first entry made in Joseph's Book of the Law of the Lord. The Lord set forth the order of sustaining church officers as follows:

Verily I say unto you, I now give unto you the officers belonging to my Priesthood, that ye may hold the keys thereof, even the Priesthood which is after the order of Melchizedek.

The revelation then proceeded to list the officers of the church:

First, I give unto you Hyrum Smith to be a patriarch unto you, to hold the sealing blessings of my church, even the Holy Spirit of promise, whereby ye are sealed up unto the day of redemption, that ye may not fall notwithstanding the hour of temptation that may come upon you.

E. Gary Smith is senior partner in a law firm in Irvine, California.

Listed next in order were Joseph “to be a presiding elder,” and the other men and priesthood offices they held, as they were to be presented for the vote of the members at conference.² This revelation was canonized as section 124 of the Doctrine and Covenants.

In this major revelation on church government, Hyrum, who was succeeding his father at that time as the Patriarch, was designated “first” in the sustaining order of church offices. Were there, then, primal characteristics to the Patriarchy? If so, what was the nature of those characteristics? This article will discuss those questions, tracing the reverberations that inevitably arose from them through subsequent incumbencies, and will suggest that the questions played a role in the demise of the office of Church Patriarch.

We begin at the time the office was created. When Joseph Smith Sr. was ordained Patriarch in 1833, the only other hierarchical positions with general authority over the entire church were the offices of the First Presidency.³ It is likely that there was a certain primal aspect to the Patriarchal office from the beginning. Joseph Sr. was the venerable and loved father of a young prophet. The church was regarded as a product of Smith family unity, not only by members of the church but also by the Smiths themselves.⁴ The older Joseph was in a natural position to assume a fatherly role of overseer to the flock. The younger Joseph was “chief executive officer” and charismatic prime mover. But the father was not without influence over his son and was accepted naturally as an “honorary chairman of the board” by Smiths and the Saints alike—with some exceptions.

When Oliver Cowdery in 1835 copied the 1833 ordination blessing of Joseph Smith Sr., he editorialized as follows:

Joseph Smith, Jr., [was] the first elder and first patriarch of the church; for although his father laid hands upon and blessed the fatherless, thereby securing the blessings of the Lord unto them and their posterity, *he was not the first elder*, because God called upon his son Joseph and ordained him to this power and delivered to him the keys of the Kingdom, that is, of authority and spiritual blessings upon the church. . . .

Let it suffice that others had authority to bless, but after these blessings were given [December 18, 1833] Joseph Smith, Sen. was ordained a president and patriarch.⁵

Oliver apparently felt it necessary to point out that being the Patriarch did not make Joseph Sr. the “First Elder,” a designation given to Joseph Jr. as the ultimate hierarch. In a revelation Cowdery claims to have received, also in September 1835, he quotes God as saying, “For behold [Joseph Smith Jr.] is the first patriarch in the last days.”⁶ There is no record of Oliver’s making similar protestations that Joseph Jr. was the first apostle, bishop, or stake president, even though a similar argument could have been made based on Joseph Jr.’s possession of the keys and authority of all other offices in the church. Oliver likely pressed this point because he perceived that being Patriarch carried the connotation of a primal role in the organization. Oliver himself had been declared “Second Elder” December 5, 1834, and his protestations may reflect a desire to prevent dilution of his own status.

The 1833 ordination of Joseph Sr., which prompted Oliver’s protestation, gave an emphasis to the Patriarchal office that was consistent with the later (January 19, 1841) revelation. Father Smith was originally told that he was to “hold the right of

patriarchal priesthood, even the keys of that ministry . . . holding the keys of the patriarchal priesthood over the kingdom of God on earth . . . and shall enjoy his right and authority under the direction of the Ancient of Days.”⁷ However, neither that 1833 blessing nor the 1841 revelation squared with the institutional notion of one head. Oliver understood Joseph Jr. to stand at the head of the divine patriarchal order in this dispensation. Yet the designations “patriarchal order” or “patriarchal priesthood” were used in the revelations to describe authority and keys that each of the two Josephs had been given. Neither Oliver Cowdery nor modern commentators have succeeded in their attempts to explain this ambiguity.⁸

For historians, the confusion is increased by a January 21, 1836, meeting of the First Presidency in the Kirtland Temple “to attend to the ordinance of anointing [their] heads with holy oil.” The presidency blessed Father Smith and anointed his head, and Joseph Jr. “sealed many blessings upon him,” including these: “to be our Patriarch, to anoint our heads, and attend to all duties that pertain to that office.” Joseph Sr. then blessed and anointed Joseph Jr. and sealed upon him the blessings of Moses and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.⁹ The questions remain: Was Joseph Sr. regarded as having power and authority that his son did not have at the time of that sealing? And did those present on that occasion understand Father Smith to have the authority to seal those blessings upon his son?¹⁰ And if so, did this constitute at least a sharing of primal authority between the two?

Oliver Cowdery’s attempts to distinguish Joseph Jr. as the First Elder *and* First Patriarch, and to emphasize the two separate titles, may have been an attempt to separate church institutional authority from the unstructured and *de facto* authority of the Smith family, a hopeless task in those times. Section 107 of the Doctrine and Covenants had been received as revelation the preceding March, 1835. It confirms Joseph Jr. as the President of the First Presidency and gives the newly created Quorum of the Twelve Apostles the duty to ordain patriarchs in all large branches, but it does not mention the office of Patriarch over the *whole* church. However, verses 53 through 55 of section 107, listing and describing the blessings of the Old Testament patriarchs, are quoted verbatim from the December 18, 1833, ordination blessing of Joseph Smith Sr.¹¹

Another possible reason for Oliver’s concern, and one that was to present itself repeatedly throughout the history of the Patriarchy, was the difficulty or unwillingness of other leaders to accept an honorary “first” office, with limited power, as consistent and coexistent with an ultimately powerful, line authority “first” office. Whether such offices can or ought to exist simultaneously is not within the purview of this article. The fact is that there were proponents and opponents of the idea that coexistence was proper and possible. Some members of the Smith family, on and off and with varying degrees of intensity, have been proponents. Oliver seems to have been the earliest of the opponents to record his feelings on the subject.¹²

To understand the primal characteristics that Joseph Jr. may have intended for the office of Patriarch to the Church, it is necessary to look back at the beginnings of the movement that was Mormonism before it was a church. As Jan Shipps insightfully concludes, the Smith family and the beginnings of the movement cannot be separated: “The Smith family was virtually a microcosm of the religious macro-

cosm in which it was immersed.”¹³ Joseph Jr., in his restoration of all things, attempted to replicate not only the primitive Christianity of the New Testament but also the primitive truths of the Old Testament. The role of the patriarchs of the Old Testament is duplicated in Father Lehi in the Book of Mormon as well as in the appointment of Father Smith as a modern-day Abraham. As Michael Quinn notes, “Joseph of Egypt was ruler of Egypt, but could not be satisfied until he brought his honored father to the kingdom over which the son presided so that Israel-father could give blessings to the children of Israel over whom Joseph of Egypt presided by decree and office.”¹⁴ Similarly, Nephi honors and reveres his father, Lehi, acknowledging him as “first” even while acting out the role of chief protagonist. Shipp’s recapitulation interpretation of Mormonism as a religious movement draws our attention to these parallels. So too does Joseph Jr.’s placing of his father in the line of the Old Testament patriarchs in his father’s ordination blessing:

Blessed of the Lord is my Father, for he shall stand in the midst of his posterity, . . . and shall be called a prince over them, . . . for he shall assemble together his posterity like unto Adam; and the assembly which he called shall be an example for my father, for thus it is written of him:

Three years previous to the death of Adam, he called Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahaleel, Jared, Enoch and Methuselah, who were high priests, with the residue of his posterity, who were righteous, into the valley of Adam-ondi-ahman, and there bestowed upon them his last blessing. And the Lord appeared unto them, and they rose up and blessed Adam, and called him Michael, the Prince, the Archangel. And the Lord administered comfort unto Adam, and said unto him, I have set thee to be at the head: a multitude of nations shall come of thee, and thou art a Prince over them forever. . . . So shall it be with my father: he shall be called a prince over his posterity, holding the keys of the patriarchal priesthood over the kingdom of God on earth, even the Church of the Latter Day Saints; and he shall sit in the general assembly of patriarchs, even in council with the Ancient of Days when he shall sit and all the patriarchs with him—and shall enjoy his right and authority under the direction of the Ancient of Days.¹⁵

Joseph Sr., as Patriarch to the Church, was to have a primal role in the restoration in much the same way the Old Testament and Book of Mormon patriarchs had.

The conclusion seems inescapable: Something more—and perhaps something more fundamental—was intended for and embodied in the Patriarchy as it was held by Joseph Smith Sr. and Hyrum Smith than in its succeeding generations. In function, however, Joseph Smith Sr. acted in his office of Patriarch mainly by giving blessings to individuals, often in blessing meetings where several families would participate. These blessings were written down and became part of the church’s records. Primal characteristics of his calling appear to have been mostly honorary, with the exception of whatever presiding authority he had over local patriarchs. Isaac Morley was the first local patriarch, appointed in 1838, and was the only one Father Smith could have logistically supervised during his seven-year tenure.¹⁶ After December 6, 1834, Joseph Sr. became an Assistant to the President of the Church, gaining jurisdictional authority that apparently had not been his by virtue of his primary office.¹⁷

Upon the death of Father Smith and the assumption of the Patriarchy by Hyrum Smith, additional line-authority dimensions appear to accrue to the office. In the same revelation that was read to the Saints at that April 1841 general conference in Nauvoo, Hyrum was presented “first” in a list of general authorities as “a Patriarch

unto" the church. William Law was appointed Hyrum's replacement in the First Presidency. However, it was Hyrum, not Law, who became the successor to the Second Elder authority of the now-disaffected Oliver Cowdery:

... my servant Hyrum may take the office of priesthood and patriarch, which was appointed unto him by his father, by blessing *and also by right*, that from henceforth he shall hold the keys of the patriarchal blessings upon the heads of all my people, that whoever he blesses shall be blessed, and whoever he curses shall be cursed; that whatsoever he shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever he shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven; and from this time forth I appoint unto him that he may be a prophet, and a seer, and a revelator unto my church, as well as my servant Joseph, that he may act in concert also with my servant Joseph, and that he shall receive counsel from my servant Joseph, who shall show unto him the keys whereby he may ask and receive, and be crowned with the same blessing, and glory, and honor, and priesthood, and gifts of the priesthood, that once were put upon him that was my servant Oliver Cowdery.¹⁸

The fact that Hyrum, holding the office "by right" as well as by blessings, was to be a prophet, seer, and revelator, to "act in concert" with the Prophet, and that he was to receive the same honors once held by the fallen Oliver Cowdery, is clearly an enlargement of the concept of the office of Church Patriarch. Whatever primal notions may have been present with Joseph Sr.'s calling, they did not equal those given to Hyrum.

It has been argued that Hyrum really received two separate callings — Patriarch (verses 91 through 95 of D&C 124) and Second Elder or Associate President (verses 94 through 96) — and that these two offices were not to be confused with each other. This explanation argues that Hyrum's office as Patriarch had no primal or line-authority characteristics, and that all jurisdictional authority was attached solely to Hyrum's concurrent Second Elder calling. Such attempts to define the separate functions of the two positions during the time they were held by Hyrum, however, were not undertaken until after Joseph and Hyrum were killed, at which time presidential succession interests colored the objectivity of the analysis.¹⁹

The proposition that Hyrum's office as Patriarch, at the time Hyrum held the office, was seen as assimilating the Second Elder powers has considerable historical support. First, the language and the context of the revelation itself appear to merge all of Hyrum's authority and responsibility into one calling. The only mention of office in the text is to that of Patriarch. The verses that now separate parts of the text in the Doctrine and Covenants were not present in the early editions, and the entire text was paragraph twenty-nine of section 103.

The second evidence that the two offices were assimilated into one is in the same revelation: It is Hyrum, as Patriarch, who is given first in the order of church offices. The only reference to Hyrum in all of section 124 is in the context of his calling as Patriarch. The office of Second Elder or Associate President is not mentioned or referred to at all. By contrast, when Joseph Sr. held the office of Patriarch along with that of Assistant to the President, the two callings were always referred to separately.

Third, Hyrum had served as a counselor in the First Presidency prior to his call as Patriarch. His calling as Patriarch was seen as a promotion. Elder LeGrand Richards of the Quorum of the Twelve noted: "The importance of this calling is evident from the fact that the Lord, by revelation, took Hyrum Smith, the brother

of the Prophet Joseph Smith, out of the First Presidency of the Church and called him to be Patriarch of the Church."²⁰

Fourth, on several subsequent occasions Joseph confirmed the importance of Hyrum's Patriarchy. The earliest of these was during a meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles recorded by Willard Richards on May 27, 1843, when Joseph said that "the patriarchal office is the highest office in the Church."²¹ This statement came one day after Hyrum, following considerable resistance, accepted the concept of plural marriage.²² Joseph's comment could be either an honorific thank you for Hyrum's valuable support or a reaffirmation of the 1841 revelation's description of the Patriarchal office, public comment about which had been suspended during Hyrum's opposition to plural marriage. The latter seems more likely.

A similar but much more problematic comment came two months later when, on July 16, 1843, Joseph stated in a sermon in the Grove at Nauvoo that he "would not prophesy any more, and proposed Hyrum to hold the office of prophet to the Church, *as it was his birthright*. I am going to have a reformation," he said, "and the Saints must regard Hyrum, for he has the authority, that I might be a Priest of the Most High God."²³ The only office Hyrum held that was associated with a birthright was that of Patriarch. To quote Michael Quinn: "When Joseph Smith publicly declared on 16 July 1843, that Hyrum Smith should 'hold the office of prophet to the Church, as it was his birthright,' he obviously referred to Hyrum's lineal role as successor to his father in the office of Presiding Patriarch."²⁴

However, when Joseph suggested that Hyrum should be *the* prophet, it went beyond what had been, and what would be, the actual relationship between the two. All previous references were consistent with Hyrum acting "in concert" with Joseph but always subject to him in a line-authority sense—sort of a second-in-command aide-de-camp. To the extent that Hyrum had been first, or ahead of Joseph Jr., it had always been in honor, not in governing institutional authority. Now Joseph was suggesting that Hyrum would actually take over the role of the *first* elder.

On the next Sunday, July 23, Joseph clarified his earlier statements when he gave his Sunday sermon in the Grove: "It has gone abroad that I proclaimed myself no longer a prophet. I said it last Sabbath ironically: I supposed you would all understand. It was not that I would renounce the idea of being a prophet, but that I had no disposition to proclaim myself such. . . . Last Monday morning certain brethren came to me and said they could hardly consent to receive Hyrum as a prophet, and for me to resign. But I told them, 'I only said it to try your faith; and it is strange, brethren, that you have been in the Church so long, and not yet understand the Melchizedek Priesthood.'"²⁵

The explanation lies in Joseph's political dilemmas of the moment, which deserve some attention in order to place his statement in context. Joseph had previously committed his vote in the 1843 congressional election to Cyrus Walker, a Whig candidate, and the assumption was that the Mormon bloc would follow. However, as election time approached, Joseph became convinced that the candidate of the Democratic party, Joseph P. Hoge, would better suit the interests of the Saints. On August 5, two days before the election and three weeks after Joseph's

comments about Hyrum taking over as Prophet, Hyrum announced to a large assembly that it was the will of God that the Saints should vote for the Democratic candidate. The next day, one day before the election, Joseph preached at the Sunday gathering and said: "Brother Hyrum tells me this morning that he has had a testimony to the effect that it would be better for the people to vote for Hoge; and I never knew Hyrum to say that he had a revelation and it failed. Let God speak and all men hold their peace."²⁶

Joseph thus was able to personally vote for and keep his promise to Walker, while the bloc of Mormons voted for Hoge, swinging the election to the Democrats.²⁷ This incident uniquely illuminates Hyrum's position. While the office embodied sufficient primal dimensions to be used convincingly for the exigencies of the moment, at the same time the conclusion of the incident made it very clear that Hyrum's jurisdictional responsibilities remained subject to those of Joseph.

A fifth evidence of Hyrum's primal responsibilities lies in his day-to-day de facto authority exercised with Joseph during the Nauvoo period. They were brothers and closest life-long allies. Joseph wanted Hyrum to act and function with substantial authority, and defining parameters of church offices was no doubt secondary in Joseph's mind. During the last few years of their lives, official church communications were often signed "Joseph Smith, Jr., [and] Hyrum Smith, Presidents of the Church."

Historians generally agree that Hyrum would have succeeded as President had he survived Joseph.²⁸ Such a result would be consistent with Hyrum's calling. However, events dealt a wrenching change to the Patriarchy and to what were the probable plans of Joseph. Hyrum, heir apparent to the presidency and holder of the primogenitive Patriarchy, predeceased the President by moments. Hyrum's shortened life not only prevented his succession to the presidency but also left his oldest son, a boy of only eleven years, the heir apparent to the Patriarchal office. The result was an unexpected and sudden organizational adjustment. Jan Shippo has suggested that whereas the early Christian church's developmental struggle for leadership was between charisma (i.e., Paul) and office (i.e., the original apostles at Jerusalem), among the Mormons the struggle was between lineage (i.e., the Smith family) and office (i.e., Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve).²⁹

William Smith found himself unexpectedly in this crucible of sudden adjustment. As the only surviving brother of Hyrum and Joseph, William became the standard bearer for the Smith family. At the suggestion of the Quorum of the Twelve, he remained in the Eastern States mission for eleven months following the martyrdom, and so did not participate in the presidential succession struggle in its initial stages.³⁰ Thus, with respect to the presidency, office won easily over lineage—by default. However, William tenaciously pursued the Patriarchal office. Brigham Young reluctantly agreed to make William the Patriarch, but after William's ordination in May 1845, the inevitable conflicts arose. What had worked between brothers simply did not work any longer. Either office or lineage could lead the church, but not both.

William, in a letter to Brigham Young dated August 24, 1844, conceded that the Quorum of the Twelve (of which he was a member) was the proper file leader

of the church, but he argued that "the next in order is the Patriarch of the Church. This singular personage stands as a father to the whole church. A patriarch can be a prophet and revelator not to the church as government but to the church as his children in Patriarchal Blessings upon their heads." William wanted the honorary primal status of his predecessors, with lineal rights preserved. However, this had worked previously only with intrafamily cooperation, and when difficulties arose between William (lineage) and Brigham (the institution), the result was enmity, not accommodation.

Concurrent with his ordination as Patriarch, William authored an article that was published in the Nauvoo *Times and Seasons* in which he openly appealed to the Saints to rally to him as the representative of the Smith family. He was aware, as was the membership, that Hyrum, as Patriarch, had never been subject to the Quorum of the Twelve and would have succeeded as President had he lived. Since William was both a member of the Twelve and held the office of Patriarch, he made overt suggestions in his article that he had more authority to lead the church than any other member of the Quorum of the Twelve, including Brigham Young. He wrote, "Support and uphold the proper authorities of the church—when I say authorities, I mean the whole, and not a part; the TWELVE: follow me as I follow Christ."³¹

In the next issue, the *Times and Seasons* printed an article written by John Taylor on behalf of the Quorum of the Twelve. This article created the sudden and permanent demarcation between the Patriarchal office as it had been during the life of the Prophet Joseph, and how it has been, more or less, since. The article simply redefined the office to eliminate any trace of primal authority. Although William had been ordained to be Patriarch "over the whole church," and even Brigham Young had referred to the office by that title several times after the martyrdom, Taylor made it clear that the title was to be Patriarch "to the Church." He conceded that William could be called a "senior Patriarch," but stated he would be acting "more especially" in the Nauvoo area only. The article continued:

We have been asked, "Does not 'patriarch *over* the *whole* church' place Brother William at the head of the whole church as president?"

Ans. No. . . .

But does not the Book of Doctrine and Covenants say, "*First*, I give unto you Hyrum Smith to be a Patriarch unto you to hold the sealing blessings of my church, even the Holy Spirit of promise whereby ye are sealed up unto the day of redemption, that ye may not fall?"

Yes. But that is in regard to seniority not in regard to authority in priesthood, for it immediately follows, "I give unto you my servant Joseph to be a *presiding elder over all* my church." . . . And from this it is evident that the president of the church, not the patriarch, is appointed by God to preside.

But does not the Patriarch stand in the same relationship to the church, as Adam did to his family, and as Abraham and Jacob did to theirs? No.³²

In October 1845 William was excommunicated for aspiring to the presidency of the church.³³

William is a good example of the role that the individual personality has played in the changing parameters of the Patriarchal office. Unlike Hyrum or Joseph Sr., William had demonstrated, along with his loyalty, moments of opposition, unpre-

dictability, and even violence.³⁴ This, with the theological dilemma over the status and role of the Patriarchal office, resulted in a vacant office for at least two years following William's excommunication.

When Brigham Young reorganized the First Presidency in Winter Quarters in 1847, he argued that "it was necessary to keep up a full organization of the Church through all times as far as could be. At least the three First Presidency, quorum of the Twelve, seventies and patriarch *over the whole church* so the devil [can] take no advantage of us."³⁵ Brigham may have been remembering the words of the Prophet Joseph in 1839: "Whenever the Church of Christ is established in the earth, there should be a Patriarch for the benefit of the posterity of the Saints, as it was with Jacob in giving his patriarchal blessing unto his sons, etc."³⁶

John Smith, brother of Joseph Smith Sr., was then given the office and served until his death in 1854. At general conference he was sustained after the First Presidency but before the Quorum of the Twelve. Despite this apparent deference to the Patriarchy, John always regarded his Patriarchal role as subject to the Twelve.³⁷ His position as president of the Salt Lake Stake was considered by all to be unconnected with the Patriarchal office. He did, however, preside over a quorum made up of local patriarchs.³⁸

Hyrum Smith's eldest son, John, was ordained to the office of Patriarch in 1855 at the age of twenty-two. Unlike his great-uncle, he was consistently sustained after the sustaining of the Quorum of the Twelve.³⁹ John Smith made no attempt to claim the historical dimensions of his father's office and, in fact, seemed to have no desire to preside over anyone. However, after the death of Brigham Young in 1877, John Taylor, in a letter to George Q. Cannon dated November 7, 1877, directed that "a Quorum of Patriarchs be organized over which John Smith, by virtue of his calling, will preside."

The pre-1845 concept of the Patriarchy had a partial renaissance after the turn of the century. Joseph F. Smith became President of the Church in 1901. Although he was a product of apostolic succession, Joseph F. was also the son of Hyrum and the younger brother of John, the Patriarch. In addition, his father, grandfather, and great-uncle had all been Presiding Patriarchs.

At the first general conference after he became President, Joseph F. quoted verse 124 of Doctrine and Covenants 124 and suggested that his brother John be sustained as Patriarch ahead of the President: "It may be considered strange that the Lord should give first of all the Patriarch; yet I do not know any law . . . from God to the contrary, that has ever been given through any of the Prophets or Presidents of the Church."⁴⁰

President Smith's suggestion was never implemented, however. Between general conference sessions, Joseph F. and the Twelve discussed the matter and John was sustained as before, just after the Twelve.⁴¹ Brigham Young Jr., a member of the Twelve, recorded in his journal on April 6, 1902: "1:02 P.M. Pres. and the Twelve met in the office. . . . This question of Patriarch John Smith, standing next to the Presidency, preceding the President of the Twelve. Brother John H. S[mith], said might change succession of President of Twelve to Presidency. I thought him unnecessarily exercised."

President Joseph F. Smith made other proposals that were more successful. One was that John set apart his brother as President of the Church.⁴² John Taylor, in 1845, had argued that William, as Patriarch, could not have powers as great as the Twelve who had ordained him, asking, "Can a stream rise higher than its fountain?"⁴³ To now have the Patriarch setting apart the President must have disturbed those in the hierarchy who had a sense of history. Needless to say, only Joseph F. Smith, among the Presidents of the Church, called upon the Patriarch to set him apart.

President Smith wanted to enhance the prestige of the Patriarchy in other ways as well. John began to speak at general conferences and was the first Patriarch since Hyrum to be sustained as a prophet, seer, and revelator.⁴⁴

After John died in November 1911, his grandson, Hyrum G. Smith, was named to the office. He was ordained in May 1912 and served concurrently with President Joseph F. Smith for six and a half years before President Smith's death in November 1918. Hyrum G. presided over local patriarchs, signed all their ordination certificates, and even ordained some to their office. He toured missions, set apart missionaries, attended meetings with the First Presidency and the Twelve in the temple, and was assigned to stake quarterly conferences.

Hyrum G. was, however, aware of the discrepancies between the sustaining order of the hierarchy set out in section 124 of the Doctrine and Covenants and the prevailing sustaining order. When Joseph A. West proposed to publish an outline in 1915 placing the Patriarch first among the General Authorities, Hyrum G. suggested to him in a letter dated December 30, 1915, that he "[not] quote revelations which place the office of Presiding Patriarch in a different position to that which he is sustained in at present. While there is no discount or discredit upon the revelations quoted . . . yet I feel this is a matter which concerns the First Presidency of the Church, and [should be] adjusted at a more opportune time."

In private conversations with the Brethren, however, Hyrum G. did discuss the sustaining order of his office, and in 1919 the First Presidency privately made it a matter of record that the "presiding Patriarch of the Church ranks in the order of office between the Council of the Twelve and the First Council of the Seventy."⁴⁵ At least some of the Brethren did not distinguish in these discussions between order of succession to the presidency and order of sustaining. Hyrum G. Smith attempted to speak to the honorific aspect of the Lord's sustaining order set out in section 124, but the Twelve reasoned that since "the apostles are called to look for patriarchs and to set them apart, it is plain that they occupy the higher place."⁴⁶ In fact, section 107 of the Doctrine and Covenants states that the apostles are to ordain patriarchs in all large branches of the church. At the time that revelation was received, the Presiding Patriarch was consistently being ordained either by the President of the Church or by the Patriarch's immediate predecessor in the office.

Hyrum G. Smith died in 1932, and for ten years thereafter the office of Presiding Patriarch remained vacant. This hiatus was a result of an impasse among the General Authorities over the concept of primogeniture. President Heber J. Grant wanted to abandon the concept in order to revive some of the primal aspects of the Patriarchy. He reasoned that the Patriarch should be a man of experience and

accomplishment and one with whom the President had a great personal rapport, thus enabling the Patriarch to join in the councils of the First Presidency. Primogeniture was too limiting to ensure the result.

On the other hand, the Quorum of Twelve strongly took the position that primogeniture was too established a tenet to abandon, but that the dimensions of the office should be officially defined so as to remove all possible primal characteristics, such as no administrative responsibilities and being subject to the Twelve.⁴⁷ In short, President Grant chose primacy over primogeniture, and the Twelve chose primogeniture over primacy. The one thing they agreed on was that both could not, realistically, be countenanced at the same time.

After ten years of stalemate, a compromise was reached wherein the President could call *any* descendant of Hyrum Smith, rather than stay within the line of eldest son, and the office would officially be circumscribed in authority. The result was that neither primacy nor primogeniture remained intact.

When Joseph F. Smith (the eldest son of President Joseph F. Smith's eldest son, Hyrum Mack Smith) was finally called in 1942, the name of the office was changed from Presiding Patriarch to Patriarch to the Church. The Patriarch no longer supervised stake patriarchs, and almost all administrative functions of the office were eliminated.

The office continued to have diminished importance during the incumbency of Eldred G. Smith, who began serving in 1947. In 1979 the office was formally retired. Although Eldred G. Smith was given varying degrees of responsibility during his tenure, the office did not reflect the authority of premartyrdom times, nor of that known for the first thirty years of the twentieth century.

At the 1979 October general conference, Eldred G. Smith was designated Patriarch Emeritus because, it was announced, "of the large increase in the number of stake patriarchs and the availability of patriarchal service throughout the world."⁴⁸ The more probable explanation is the troublesome nature of the office. As Professor Michael Quinn has suggested, "Whenever a Patriarch to the Church after 1845 tried to magnify his presiding office, the Twelve and First Presidency recoiled in apprehension that a vigorous Patriarch to the Church might wield too much authority and dare to challenge the automatic apostolic succession that has existed since 1844. But when individual Patriarchs after 1845 seemed to lack administrative vigor, the Twelve and the First Presidency criticized them for not magnifying their office."⁴⁹

It is no surprise to students of Mormon history that leadership roles and offices have not always developed smoothly or consistently in the church. The office of Presiding or Church Patriarch is an extreme, and perhaps unique, example. Part of the explanation lies in ambiguous revelations, and part lies in the inability of an institution to deal with such ambiguities. In the not unnatural tension between lineage and office, the institution found accommodation of the two ultimately impossible, and the tension spelled the doom of an office grounded in the church's lineal beginnings.

NOTES

Unless otherwise noted, all manuscripts are located in the Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

1. Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 4:326-27. Hereafter cited as HC.

2. HC 4:284-86, 339; D&C 124:124-45; D. Michael Quinn, "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 26 and n. 29. D&C 124:144 reads: "And a commandment I give unto you, that you should fill all these offices and approve of those names which I have mentioned, or else disapprove of them at my general conference." The office of Patriarch was not actually presented for a vote at general conferences until April 6, 1843.

3. Quinn, "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums," 25.

4. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and his Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England, 1853); Mary Audentia Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing, 1929); Jan Shippo, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

5. Oliver Cowdery, Minutes in Joseph Smith Sr. Patriarchal Blessing Book, vol. 1, 1835. Emphasis added. Photocopy of original in possession of author.

6. *Ibid.*, 15-16.

7. *Ibid.*, 9.

8. See Hyrum L. Andrus, *Doctrines of the Kingdom*, vol. 3 of *Foundations of the Millennial Kingdom of Christ* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973), 537-43.

9. HC 2:379-80.

10. Hyrum L. Andrus asserts that "the Prophet did not confer the primary right to the office and blessing of Abraham upon his father or any other member of the family of Joseph Smith, Sr." (*Doctrines of the Kingdom*, 543.) Yet, Andrus writes on his preceding page (and HC 2:379-80), it was Joseph Smith Sr. who sealed the blessing of Abraham on Joseph Jr. Andrus refers to this January 1836 event as the time when the Prophet was given the right to preside over the divine patriarchal order. "He then had sealed upon his head 'the blessings of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.'" On page 546, Andrus further defines the unique and singular calling of Joseph Jr. as "in the full tradition of Seth, Enoch, and Abraham." Both Joseph Sr. and Hyrum were told, in connection with their calling as Church Patriarch, that the office was in the tradition of Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, and Methuselah (see Cowdery, Minutes, 9; D&C 107:41-57). In 1842 Joseph Jr. instructed Hyrum and others in the order pertaining to the Ancient of Days (Manuscript History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, May 4, 1842; Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question," Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982). When Joseph Sr. was ordained Patriarch in 1833, he was told he would "enjoy his right and authority under the direction of the Ancient of Days" (Cowdery, Minutes, 9). All of the above points up the ambiguities on the question.

11. D&C 107:39-57 raises the question as to whether local patriarchs were also to have their priesthood handed down from father to son, a concept similar to that which survived with respect to the Presiding Patriarch.

12. HC 2:273.

13. Shippo, *Mormonism*, 7.

14. D. Michael Quinn, "Comment on Patriarch Papers," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association, Salt Lake City, 1986.

15. Cowdery, Minutes, 7.

16. Brigham Young reported that his father was the first ordained patriarch. However, Young places the date after Zion's Camp, which would have been 1834, after the ordination of Joseph Smith Sr. There is no record of Brigham Young's father actively functioning as a patriarch. See *Journal History*, June 21, 1874; D. Michael Quinn 1982, "Joseph Smith III's 1844 Blessing and the Mormons of Utah," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 87, n. 12.

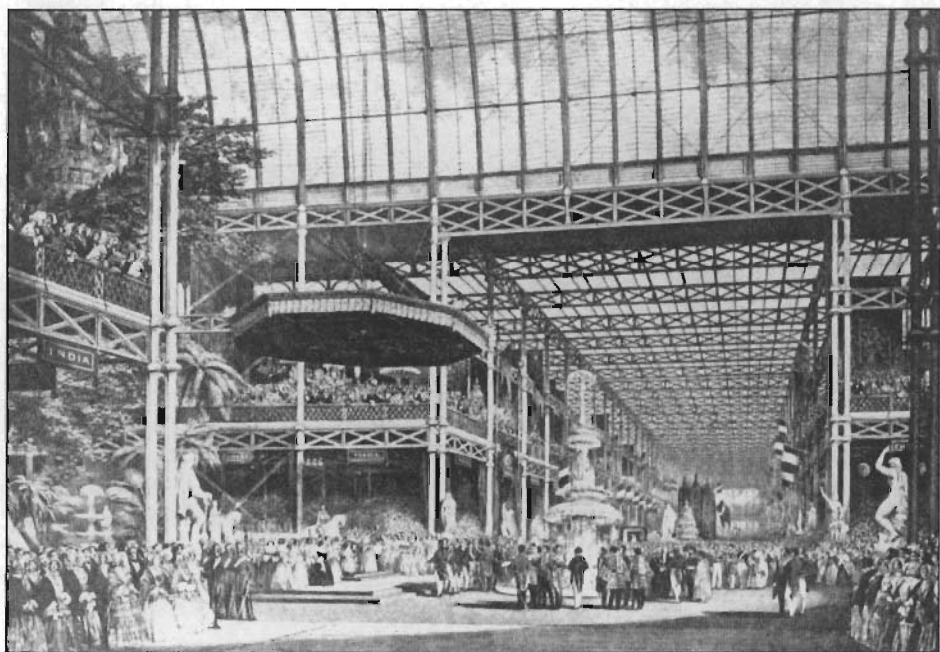
17. Quinn, "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums," 26 and n. 28.

18. The Book of Commandments, 1852, 103:29 (now D&C 124:91-95). Emphasis added.

19. "Patriarchal," *Times and Seasons* 6 (June 1, 1845): 920-22; Glen Mouritsen, "The Office of Associate President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972.

20. LeGrand Richards, "A Chosen Vessel unto Me," *Instructor* 99 (December 1964): 466.

21. Minutes of the Quorum of the Twelve, May 27, 1843, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives.
22. William Clayton recorded in his journal under date of May 26, 1843, "Hyrum received the doctrine of priesthood" (Minutes of the Quorum of the Twelve, May 27, 1843)..
23. HC 5:510. Emphasis added.
24. D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *Brigham Young University Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 187-233.
25. HC 5:516-18. There were those who not only understood, but took things in good-humored stride. Willard Richards met Hyrum in the street midweek and said, "I am writing to the brethren, has our new prophet anything to say to them? 'Give my respects to them,' " replied Hyrum (HC 5:513).
26. HC 5:526.
27. Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 236, 238.
28. Brigham Young said at the October 1844 general conference: "Did Joseph ordain any man to take his place? He did. Who was it? It was Hyrum, but, Hyrum fell a martyr before Joseph did. If Hyrum had lived he would have acted for Joseph . . ." (HC 7:288; see also HC 6:546; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* 2 [Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965]: 246, n. 22). In a conversation a few days after the martyrdom, Newell K. Whitney and William Clayton discussed that "Joseph has said that if he and Hyrum were taken away Samuel H. Smith would be his successor" (William Clayton, Journal, July 12, 1844). Although Samuel died a few days after this discussion, such a concept would have been consistent with the rule of primogeniture, since Samuel was, at the time, Hyrum's next nearest adult male relative, by seniority of age.
29. Shippy, *Mormonism*, 105.
30. Immediately following the martyrdom, Willard Richards wrote to Brigham Young and the Twelve recommending that "William Smith, whose life is threatened, with all the Smiths, . . . spend a little time in publishing the news in the eastern cities, and getting as many in the church as possible" (HC 7:148). William's wife was also critically ill and unable to travel.
31. "Patriarchal," *Times and Seasons* 5 (May 15, 1845): 904-5.
32. Emphasis in original. *Times and Seasons*, June 1, 1845; E. Gary Smith, "The Patriarchal Crisis of 1845," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Summer 1983): 24-35.
33. HC 7:458-59, 483.
34. See Irene M. Bates, "William Smith, 1811-93: Problematic Patriarch," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Summer 1983): 11-23; E. Gary Smith, "The Patriarchal Crisis of 1845"; Paul M. Edwards, "William B. Smith: 'The Persistent Pretender,'" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Summer 1985): 128-39.
35. Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85), December 27, 1847. Emphasis added.
36. HC 3:381.
37. Unlike any of his successors, John Smith was also a member of the Council of Fifty.
38. "Minutes of the General Conference," *The Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, no. 22, vol. 14 (July 24, 1852): 342.
39. See Conference Reports of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for that period.
40. Conference Report, November 10, 1901, 80.
41. John Henry Smith, Journal, 1902, 511-12, 561; Conference Report, November 10, 1901, 80.
42. Reed C. Durham and Steven H. Heath, *Succession in the Church* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), 117.
43. "Patriarchal," *Times and Seasons* 6 (June 1, 1845): 920-22.
44. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 457; Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah* (Boston: C. M. Clark Publishing Co., 1911), 248-49.
45. James E. Talmage, Journal, January 2, 1919.
46. Anthon H. Lund, Journal, January 2, 1919.
47. Rudger Clawson, draft letter to Heber J. Grant, April 4, 1935.
48. N. Eldon Tanner, "The Sustaining of Church Officers," *Ensign*, November 1979, 18.
49. Quinn, "Comment on Patriarch Papers."



Interior of the Crystal Palace at the Great Exhibition

In Praise of Babylon: Church Leadership at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London

T. Edgar Lyon Jr.

"While . . . passing from one place to the other like Bees from flowers to make up the feast of the day we were unexpectedly honored with the presence of her Majesty the Queen Victoria and his highness Prince Albert. They passed arm in Arm and make a graceful bow."¹ Jacob Gates, president of the Leicester and Derbyshire conferences, while walking through the Crystal Palace of the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, was profoundly impressed to be greeted by the queen of England, even if he did call her in his journal "her Majesty" and "Queen Victoria." On the same day, Apostle Franklin D. Richards was also in London and attended a concert of the Covent Gardens Orchestra, where he "saw Queen and Prince and was in their royal presence about 3 hours."² Elder Richards too was touched by associating with the royalty of the most powerful country in the world. As president of the European Mission, he had come from Liverpool to preside over the meetings of the London Conference. What had initially been scheduled as regular semiannual meetings of the Saints in London had grown into a "special general conference" for church leaders in Great Britain and Europe, purposefully designed to coincide with the Great Exhibition, or the first real World's Fair.³

Meeting in regular conference sessions was, of course, not new for the Latter-

T. Edgar Lyon Jr. is professor and chairman of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Brigham Young University. A briefer version of this paper was read at the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Mormon History Association at Oxford, England, July 1987.

day Saints. As early as 1830, the church had established the principle of holding conferences,⁴ a practice followed by stakes in the United States and districts in Europe as they were organized. On occasion, semiannual general conferences were held in Great Britain—in Manchester, on October 5 and 6, 1850, for example.⁵ In 1850 Apostle Orson Pratt, who was serving as editor of the *Millennial Star* and president of the European Mission, set the precedent of holding what he called a special general conference. It was designed for leaders of the mission to gather and, in a parliamentary fashion, conduct the business of the church for Great Britain and Europe. One such leadership meeting was held in Liverpool, the mission headquarters, on January 5, 1850. Only fifteen of the forty-two conference (district) presidents in Great Britain were able to attend, but the business of the church was moved, seconded, and carried out.⁶ The special general conference held in London in 1851 was unique, however. Four of the Quorum of the Twelve were present; leaders came from the French, Italian, Danish, and Swiss missions; and at least twenty-six of the conference presidents participated. (See Appendix A.) Even more unusual is the fact that the gathering had a decidedly cultural, almost tourist-like nature, as well as the usual spiritual and administrative functions. Official minutes of the conference meetings appear in the *Millennial Star*, but they do not reflect the human activities of those who gathered in London from May 27 through June 10, 1851. The present study will examine, through contemporary reports and diaries, the singular nature of this extended reunion in bustling London and the nature of the church and missionary work at that time.

An Invitation Is Extended

In February 1851, Eli B. Kelsey, a thirty-one-year-old American who was serving as president of the London Conference, wrote to Elder Franklin D. Richards and expressed gratitude that “during 1851, the attractions of London will cause many of the *wise* and the *faithful* among the servants of God to pay us a visit,”⁷ undoubtedly a reference to the expected attendance of apostles and mission leaders at the conference on Sunday, June 1.

On April 10 Kelsey again wrote to Richards to inform him that he (Kelsey) had been unable to secure a meeting hall large enough to accommodate all the Saints who would gather for the various Sunday sessions. A Sunday morning meeting for all could be held in the Literary and Scientific Institution, but afternoon and evening meetings would have to be held at eight other sites scattered through the city. Kelsey also expressed willingness to find housing for out-of-towners with members of the church in London:

It is requested that those who accept this invitation will inform me of the fact by the 25th of May, and I will then notify them of the addresses of the persons whose hospitality they will enjoy during their sojourn with us. This will save the brethren, who are strangers to London, a great deal of unnecessary trouble, for London is a place of distance.

Measures will be taken to bring the brethren together frequently in social re-unions, so that each by each other, may be blessed. And as recreative employment was considered essential for the well being of our father Adam, during his residence in the garden of Eden, that his pleasures might be rendered more sweet, we will take care to add to the enjoyment of the brethren who visit us.⁸

Three weeks later, in the May 1 edition of the *Millennial Star*, Kelsey again cautioned the Saints that "every nook and corner of London . . . will be filled to excess."⁹ His invitation made it obvious that the social needs of conference attendees would be a major concern; camaraderie and brotherly good will were necessary for full enjoyment of the conference. The city of London would be a major attraction, or at least a very important "side show." Even though the Saints were far from Zion and would be gathering in a worldly "Babylon," they were encouraged to come to the conference early and stay late to enjoy the delights of the city.¹⁰

The Exhibition Begins

At noon on May 1, 1851, in company with Prince Albert, the moving force behind the fair, Queen Victoria opened the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park. Inside the enormous, nineteen-acre Crystal Palace, the Archbishop offered a prayer and a thousand voices sang Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus." Among the spectators at the opening ceremonies were two Mormon leaders, Eli B. Kelsey and Apostle Lorenzo Snow, who, Kelsey later reported, "obtained a good position and viewed the [opening] procession."¹¹

In the two years of preparation, the executive committee had written by hand 161,631 letters of invitation. The Crystal Palace, where some 15,000 exhibitors from forty countries displayed their wares,¹² was assembled in just a few weeks, with 300,000 panes of glass and more than 5,000 iron columns and girders. It even incorporated some of the stately elms of Hyde Park that were too revered to be cut down.¹³ Admission for the first weeks was five shillings; on May 26 it was lowered to one shilling (approximately twenty-five U. S. cents at the time). On the day that Elder Richards and party paid their shilling, they calculated that 40,000 other visitors paid a total entrance fee of 2,000 pounds, or 10,000 U. S. dollars.¹⁴ The London *Times* reported the actual number for that day as 54,669, and the income for the day, excluding season ticket holders, as 2,379 pounds.¹⁵ On a single day in October, 109,915 visitors set an attendance record. A writer for the *Millennial Star* expressed awe that "at one time there were no less than 92,000 persons in the building, the largest number ever congregated under one roof."¹⁶ By closing date, October 11, 1851, more than six million people had visited the fair, paying a total of 350,000 pounds, or \$1,750,000 dollars.¹⁷ Among the six million visitors were Apostles Franklin D. Richards, Lorenzo Snow, John Taylor, and Erastus Snow and twenty-six conference presidents who could raise the money from their local congregations. Numerous pastors, or zone presidents, several traveling elders, and missionaries from the British Isles and the continent also viewed the marvels of the nineteenth century at the exhibition.

Most of the out-of-towners attending the church's special general conference would spend a week to ten days in London. Only two of those days would be taken up with meetings; the rest were, in modern LDS parlance, "P-days," or more appropriately, "P-week." These visitors apparently felt an urgency to absorb as much of London's culture as possible. Of the total conference presidents in Great Britain at that time, only about 40 percent were from North America; of those who attended the conference, however, the vast majority were American (see Appendix

B), as were the apostles, Elder Richards's counselors, and those who came from the continent. It is apparent that the North Americans had a strong interest in seeing and absorbing the glories of London, and likely that the British Saints were more willing to donate monies to send a North American to see the sights of London than to do the same for one of their fellow countrymen.

The Conference Begins

When the conference attendees arrived, some went directly to Jewin Street, a short street off Aldersgate and Red Cross streets, near St. Paul's Cathedral. There, at number 35, William Cook, an elder, owned "a front shop, situated on a corner, with two large show windows in which [the church's] bills and publications can be displayed with great effect." Kelsey proposed to use this store as "The Latter-day Saints' Book and Millennial Star Depot" and assured his superiors that the location would produce great proselyting results in the "*eventful* year 1851."¹⁸ The building was already the de facto headquarters of the church in London. Eli Kelsey resided there, and Elder Richards stayed with him during the conference.

By the time the conference visitors began arriving, Kelsey had managed to find homes in which about seventy of them could stay. Since the missionaries were traveling "without purse or scrip," the members in London were expected to provide not only lodging in their already tight quarters, but also food. Whatever the sacrifices, however, the local Saints apparently found joy in receiving the Lord's servants in their homes.

When Appleton Harmon arrived from Carlisle, he went directly to the home to which Kelsey had assigned him: "With my carpet bag in hand [I] launched forth in the great metropolis, and by making inquiry of the police (of which there is one to almost every corner . . .), I soon was put in the right direction, and ten minutes walk took me to Bro. Robert Tills, 76 Stanhope Street, Hampsted Road where I found a good home."¹⁹ John Spiers, an Englishman in charge of the Bedfordshire Conference, "was kindly entertained by a Br. John Terry." Three days later Spiers's wife joined him, and the couple, Spiers reported, "took up our quarters at Sr. [Sister] Staples. She kindly gave up her bed to us, the while she sleeps on the floor to accommodate us."²⁰

The basic reason for the London gathering was spiritual renewal. A priesthood leadership meeting "to prepare the business of the conference"²¹ was held in Whitechapel on Saturday night, May 31, lasting from 8:00 P.M. until midnight. Apparently the priesthood set the agenda for the meetings of the next few days. Curiously, not one notation from the fourteen extant diaries recounts any details of this gathering; only Appleton Harmon indirectly refers to it, in a comment on the length: "at a late hour went to my lodgings."²²

On Sunday, June 1, some 3,000 to 4,000 members assembled at the Literary and Scientific Institution in Aldersgate Street for a business and instructional meeting designed especially for missionaries.²³ They also heard about the growth of the church in the London area, including 750 baptisms since the previous semiannual conference. In the afternoon the Saints split up and went to halls and chapels that were permanently occupied by the church, in Theobald Road, Somerstown, Chelsea,

Paddington, Borough, Kennington, Islington, and Whitechapel. Four or five of the visiting authorities were assigned to preach at each location. John Spiers summarized the day simply: "This closed in the best of order this most important conference ever held in London."²⁴ But while it may have been a "most important conference," it occupies little space in the diaries of the participants; they saved their words and pages for other things.

Monday morning, June 2, was mostly free for sightseeing, with a well-planned festival held in the Masonic Hall beginning at two in the afternoon. Eleven hundred Saints crammed into the hall for the event. Jesse W. Crosby, president of the Warwickshire Conference, described the activities:

The meeting was opened by prayer and singing; a band was in attendance; several songs were sung as the performances of the day were being carried into effect. Twenty-four young ladies marched round the room dressed in white, with wreaths of flowers on their heads; twenty-four young men with staves in their hands marched in like manner, while the Mountain Standard was sung. . . .

Then 12 men (young) with Bible in the right hand and Book of Mormon in the left; then 12 ladies with bouquets of flowers; then 12 aged men with staves. . . .

Refreshments were served up consisting of oranges, raisins, cakes and cold water. Several speeches were made; one in favor of the young men and of the assembly, wherein a synopsis of the history of the church was given; its rise and organization.

The introductions of the Gospel into England in 1837 by Elder Heber C. Kimball and others who landed in Liverpool in the month of July, 1837, in a land of strangers without a farthing in their pockets, they proceeded to several parts of England. Preston was the first place thus highly favored to receive the Mormon Gospel in England. Multitudes harkened and scores were baptized. . . . [T]ruth has gained ground steadily and thousands have enlisted under its banner, until 32 conferences have been organized consisting of about 33,000 Saints, including some 2,000 Elders.²⁵

The next day, Tuesday, Elder Richards conducted a full-day leadership meeting, with twenty-three of the conference presidents in attendance (three were out visiting London). Among the items of business were the transferring the Channel Islands Conference to French jurisdiction; reports of missionary work in Ireland; the passing of "a resolution that [they] emigrate the remains of Elders L. D. Barns, James H. Flanagan and William Burton to Zion";²⁶ and a progress report on the French translation of the Book of Mormon.²⁷ John Spiers joyously recorded: "From Elder F. D. Richards I received full permission to emigrate to America," adding that the leadership meeting "separated feeling new strength."²⁸

The Big Attraction

Yet it was not the spiritual strength or gospel insight that filled pages of the personal diaries. London and the Great Exhibition call forth the most detailed, even poetic, journal entries. The weather was very cooperative and warm,²⁹ and many of the conference visitors walked from their temporary lodgings to Hyde Park and the Crystal Palace. Some returned to the Exhibition two or three times but were still not able to see all of the 15,000 displays. On the same day that Jacob Gates saw "her Magistry" and Elder Richards was in her "royal presence about 3 hours," the London *Times* reported that the queen came to the Crystal Palace at her "usual early hour . . . watching with interest and curiosity the influx of people."³⁰ Thus, while

many people were queen-watching, she, happy at the increasingly large numbers of well-mannered visitors, spent her time people-watching. Victoria and Albert went to the Crystal Palace daily during the first few weeks, and she talked freely with visitors, especially the many foreigners. One exhibitor reportedly fainted when she asked him a question.³¹ The *Times* was particularly pleased that the reduction in the entrance fee had not brought in a crowd of unruly, ill-dressed commoners. The editor observed that "there is something particularly gratifying in this fraternization of the great and the humble under circumstances so unusual."³² He also observed that there were many "Quakers present probably attracted to town by the religious meetings of the season."³³ Indeed, he may have confused Mormons with Quakers in the Exhibition Hall. Throughout the building were many "religious tracts which pointed the moral of each exhibit"; LDS missionaries may have placed their tracts with the curious visitor.³⁴

The Mormon visitors, accustomed to planning and thinking big regarding their religion and its plan to cover the entire earth, were highly impressed by the immense building and the numerous exhibits demonstrating power and speed, including a locomotive that could travel sixty miles an hour. Appleton Harmon, who wrote only brief comments about spiritual meetings, filled six pages of his diary with experiences and impressions of the first day he visited the Exhibition:

A beautiful glass fountain was there with a jet of water spouting from the top and falling into a pool at its base. It looked cool and refreshing, and its cooling spray drew many visitors to it, who would cool their thirst with a hearty drink. The highly furnished rooms of the English, French, Austrian, Grecian, Belgian, Turkish, and Chinese, and many others. Gigantic statuary, and massive machinery. All in their proper allotted places. The carved and highly ornamented and gilded furniture was truly a pleasing sight. Each article seemed to act its part towards enriching and adding to the splendor. Brother Lorenzo Snow and I were walking along together admiring the grandeur of the scenery; a melodious sound from a high great organ, touched by skillful hands, floated over the busy multitude and saluted our ears. It caused us to wander in the direction from whence the sound proceeded, where we soon arrived, and we found ourselves in the midst of the music department.

The numerous pianofortes, French horns, and every mentionable instrument were there and a fiddle going by steam. These instruments were occasionally tried by skillful hands, which added to our enjoyment.

An occasional blast from some vivid instrument, sending forth its mellow tones to enliven the thousands, was rich in the extreme and seemed to harmonize well with the scenery. Nothing lacked that would charm the eye, for gentlemen and ladies were there from all nations, dressed in the very best attire, that could captivate the mind or add to the pleasure of the occasion. We wandered about until we were fatigued and hungry, when we repaired to a beautiful refreshment room and satisfied our appetites.³⁵

The numerous adjectives in this passage and the purposeful attempt to poetically capture the sights and sounds of the fair contrast with other sections of the diary, which rather prosaically recount the mundane details of daily missionary activity. Harmon returned to the Exhibition on June 2 and again on the 4th, continuing to record its marvels. Clearly, the fair was a major diversion for this wide-eyed American missionary in London.

Another diarist, John Spiers, waxed much more poetic and descriptive about the Exhibition than about Elder Richards's instructions, and took pleasure in enumerating the objects in the mammoth greenhouse. He mentioned a "large diamond

probably 1½ inches long by nearly one inch nearly of an egg shape," which also impressed several other Mormon writers. After his second visit, he concluded that the Exhibition was "undoubtedly the greatest collection of works of art that the world ever witnessed."³⁶ Jesse Crosby filled his diary with page after page of detailed descriptions taken from the visitor's guide on June 3, a day he should have been in an all-day leadership meeting with Elder Richards. Joseph W. Young made at least three and perhaps four trips to the Crystal Palace.³⁷

A marked contrast is the journal of Elder Erastus Snow, who arrived in London from Scandinavia just in time for the Saturday priesthood meeting. He mainly records the spiritual benefits of reunion: "During the visit in London I had the great pleasure of mingling in sweet council with those members of my quorum who were in Europe." He noted only that the Exhibition was on and that London was full of foreigners, "which we failed not to improve upon, both to our own advantage and to imparting the councils of eternal life to others."³⁸ This is a journal entry, likely written some time after the occasion. Although Snow chose to emphasize only the spiritual aspects of his sojourn in London, he did mention in one sentence that he stayed in the city for eleven days "visiting the exhibition and other interesting objects," but he gave no detailed description as did other diarists.

For the LDS visitors, there were other obligatory sites to visit, in addition to the Exhibition, including many attractions that visitors still see in London: the British Museum and Library, the Tower of London, Buckingham Palace, Westminster Abbey, Parliament, St. Paul's Cathedral, Thames Tunnel, and even Madame Toussaud's Bazaar (now the Wax Museum). Hyperbole was the only way to describe these marvels. For many, the British Museum and Library was the most impressive attraction, after the Crystal Palace. Appleton Harmon described it as "an immense, large building . . . the largest library in the world. Every book that there is in existence has a copy here."³⁹ Jesse Crosby thrilled at the free admission and described the library as "this wonderful place of wonders."⁴⁰ The Zoological Gardens and Kew Gardens called forth similar hyperbolic ecstasy. The zoo "contains animals from every part of the globe . . . with all the varied species of insects, serpents, quadrupeds" in the world. Similarly Crosby observed that the "Key [Kew] Gardens contain vegetables of every specie and flowers of every hue. Here may be seen fruits growing from every clime and every zone. . . . [A]rtificial heat is extensively used by means of coal fires and flues."⁴¹

John Spiers took 500 words in his diary just to describe his visit to the zoo on Wednesday, May 28, but only 150 words to record all the activities he participated in on Sunday, June 1.

Conclusions

Of the forty or fifty non-British Saints who attended the special general conference and visited the Great Exhibition, two were members of the Quorum of the Twelve who later became presidents of the church. Several who were serving as conference presidents continued in leadership positions in Europe and America. Yet it is amazing how little information now exists about many of the attendees. Nearly a third are now lost in anonymity, not listed in Andrew Jensen's biographies

or any other church registers. Two, Jesse W. Kelsey and T. B. H. Stenhouse, were cut off from the church in 1869 as Godbeites. The conference presidents were young men; the average age of those for whom we have biographical information was thirty-three.

The Exhibition and the other attractions in London provided positive experiences in gaining recognition for the church. They also allowed the church leaders to see many of the latest technological advances and to get ideas that would later be implemented for the betterment of the Saints both at home and abroad, such as faster travel, improved manufacturing methods, and advances in music and instrumentation.⁴² Entirely absent from the diaries examined are a condemnation of the world and any hint of self-aggrandizement through promoting spiritual over worldly progress. The diarists are in complete agreement about the positive effects of the marvels of science. The "flee Babylon" sentiments of the time, so prevalent in sermons, are not apparent in any of the diaries. It may be assumed that the intimacy of the diary provides a reflection of admiration for the material world. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher has noted a similar dichotomy between poetry for public consumption and writings in the personal diaries of many women poets in early Utah.⁴³ Indeed, there is a real dichotomy between public pronouncements and the candor of the diary.

For the conference presidents, the numerous traveling elders, and the four apostles, the London conference served the spiritual purpose of rededication and renewal. However, they also recognized the need for camaraderie and healthy educational recreation. Their diaries report frequent visits of conference presidents to neighboring conferences. When Levi Richards visited John Lyon in Worcester, they not only talked gospel conversion, but also "went to a China works."⁴⁴ Levi was aware of the deep blue and finely gilded Worcester china and felt that he must know more of its origin. When another conference president, Cyrus Wheelock, visited Worcester, he spent an entire day visiting the town hall and saw "nine suits of steel armour complete with Oliver Cromwell's brass shirt."⁴⁵ He also toured the town's famous cathedral, museum, and pottery. On still another occasion Samuel W. Richards, counselor to his brother Franklin, arrived at Lyon's home in Kilmar-nock, Scotland, and almost immediately took a coach to see the birthplace of Robert Burns;⁴⁶ they did no direct missionary work that day.

In late 1851 the Crystal Palace was moved from Hyde Park, and later it was reassembled at Sydenham Hill, where it attracted crowds until it burned in 1936. But the memory of their participation in the conference held during the Exhibition of 1851 strengthened many of the Mormon participants for a lifetime. The missionaries felt that knowing the culture of the areas in which they preached, visiting fairs, glassworks, museums, and homes of poets—all were a spiritual necessity. As Kelsey observed, just as "recreative employment" was necessary for Father Adam, so those who went to London during that memorable conference found their pleasures "rendered more sweet" by this "wonderful place of wonders."

Appendix A: Church Leaders Who Attended the Great Exhibition and London Conference, June 1851

Apostles

1. Franklin D. Richards, Liverpool
2. John Taylor
3. Lorenzo Snow
4. Erastus Snow

European Mission Presidency

1. Franklin D. Richards, president
2. George B. Wallace, counselor
3. Levi Richards

Foreign Missionaries

1. John Taylor, France
2. Erastus Snow, Denmark
3. Lorenzo Snow
4. T. B. H. Stenhouse
5. G. P. Dykes

Conference Presidents (See Appendix B)

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. James F. Bell | 14. George Halliday | 27. James M. Naughtan |
| 2. H. W. Church | 15. Appleton M. Harmon | 28. John Parry |
| 3. Moses Clawson | 16. J. S. Higbee | 29. William Parry |
| 4. Gilbert Smith Clements | 17. J. W. Johnson | 30. William Phillips |
| 5. J. Clements | 18. David John | 31. John Price |
| 6. J. W. Crosby | 19. John Jones | 32. Thomas Pugh |
| 7. W. C. Dunbar | 20. John Kelly | 33. Lewis Robbins |
| 8. John Thomas Evans | 21. Eli B. Kelsey | 34. Glauod Rodger |
| 9. William Evans | 22. George Kendall | 35. J. D. Ross |
| 10. Hugh Findlay | 23. John Lyon | 36. Claudius V. Spencer |
| 11. Jacob Gates | 24. James Marsden | 37. John Spiers |
| 12. Thomas Giles | 25. R. C. Menzies | 38. Cyrus H. Wheelock |
| 13. Isaac C. Haight | 26. Thomas Morgan | 39. Joseph W. Young |

London Conference: Traveling Elders

- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Joseph Adams | 11. John Green | 21. Charles W. Penrose |
| 2. Joseph Bevege | 12. John Hyde | 22. Charles Phelps |
| 3. ? Bryceson | 13. Samuel James | 23. Thomas Phillips |
| 4. William Bunce | 14. Samuel Jarvis | 24. Joseph Savell |
| 5. Thomas Caffall | 15. William Kelsey | 25. Thomas Smith |
| 6. James Caffall | 16. John Lewis | 26. William Speakman |
| 7. ? Cook | 17. David Paxman | 27. Thomas Squires |
| 8. Thomas Duffy | 18. Richard Pay | 28. Arthur Stainer |
| 9. Richard H. French | 19. Arthur Penny | 29. John Taylor |
| 10. George Gile | 20. James Penrice | |

Appendix B: British Conference Presidents, 1851

<i>Conference presidents</i>	<i>Conference</i>	<i>At Confer- ence in 1851</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Extant Diary, sketch, journal of 1851</i>
Bell, James F.	Staffordshire	yes	1817	34	Brit	yes
Church, H. W.	Herefordshire	yes	1817	34	Amer	no
Clawson, Moses	Lincolnshire	yes	1801	49	Amer	yes
Clements, Gilbert Smith	Belfast				Amer	
Clements J.	Glasgow		1817	33	Amer	no
Crosby, J. W.	Warwickshire	yes	1920	30	Canadian	yes
Dunbar, W. C.	Southampton		1922	28	Brit (Scotland)	no
Evans, John Thomas	Cardiganshire		1807	44	Brit	no
Evans, William	Merionethshire				Brit	
Findlay, Hugh	Hull		1822	29	Brit	
Gates, Jacob	Leicester, Derbyshire	yes	1811	40	Amer	yes
Giles, Thomas	Monmouthshire	no	1820	30	Brit (Wales)	yes
Haight, Isaac C.	Birmingham	yes	1813	37	Amer	no
Halliday, George	South Conference	yes	1823	38	Brit	yes
Harmon, Appleton M.	Carlisle	yes	1820	31	Amer	yes
Higbee, J. S.	Newcastle-on-Tyre	yes	1804	47	Amer	yes
Johnson, J. W.	Preston	yes				
John, David	Carmarthenshire				Brit	no
Jones, John	Brechnockshire					
Kelly, John	Isle of Man		1824	26	Brit (Scotland?)	
Kelsey, Eli B.	London	yes	1819	31	Amer	yes
Kendall, George	Dorsetshire					
Lyon, John	Worcestershire	yes	1803	48	Brit (Scotland)	no
Marsden, James	Dundee, Edinburgh	yes				
Menzies, R. C.	Bradford	yes			Brit (Scotland)	
Morgan, Thomas	Anglesea				Brit	
McNaughtan, James	Channel Islands	no	1820	31	Brit (Scotland)	yes
Parry, John	Denbighshire		1817	34	Brit	
Parry, William	Flintshire					
Phillips, William	Glamorgan East	yes	1815	36	Brit (Wales)	yes
Price, John	Pembrokeshire	no	1820	31	Brit (Wales)	
Pugh, Thomas	Glamorgan West					
Robbins, Lewis	Sheffield	yes				
Rodger, Glauud	Liverpool					
Ross, J. D.	Cheltenham	yes	1824	27	Brit (Scotland)	
Spencer, Claudius V.	Norwich	yes	1824	27	Amer	no
Spiers, John	Bedfordshire	yes	1822	29	Brit	yes
Wheelock, Cyrus H.	Manchester		1813	38	Amer	no
Young, Joseph W.	Shropshire	yes	1829	22	Amer	yes

NOTES

1. Jacob Gates, Journal/Diary, Library-Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter cited as LDS Archives.

2. Franklin D. Richards, Diary, LDS Archives.

3. Several previous national trade fairs had been held in France, Belgium, Switzerland, and England. Many of these dated back to medieval festivals (Stourbridge Fair), but none had the international participation nor royal support accorded the 1851 Great Exhibition in London. Its magnitude earns it the honor as the first true World's Fair. It was the prototype for the New York World's Fair of 1853 and for most subsequent grandiose international exhibitions. Hugh A. Auger, *Trade Fairs and Exhibitions* (London: Business Publications Ltd., 1967), 1-15.

4. Doctrine and Covenants 20:62, 64.

5. *Millennial Star*, 1850, 345.

6. *Ibid.*, 26.

7. *Millennial Star*, 1851, 37.

8. British Mission Manuscript History, LDS Archives, April 10, 1851.

9. *Millennial Star*, 1851, 137.

10. Brigham Young and other church leaders who had journeyed to London often encouraged missionaries to assimilate pragmatic knowledge while in Great Britain. In a letter to his son Joseph Angell Young, President Young wrote: "There are many things you can inform your mind upon, the laws of England, her form of government; lose no opportunity in your travels of visiting her manufacturies, her works of art, her grand and spacious buildings, and all that is worthy of note, not from a mere idle curiosity but to store your mind with that which will benefit yourself and your brethren in after years." (Letter to Joseph Angell Young in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974], 14.)

11. Journal of Eli B. Kelsey, reproduced in Manuscript History of the London Conference, May 1, 1851.

12. Auger, *Trade Fairs and Exhibitions*, 14.

13. S. C. Burchell, *Age of Progress* (New York: Time, Inc., 1966), 10-11.

14. Franklin D. Richards, Diary, May 29, 1851.

15. *London Times*, May 30, 1851.

16. *Millennial Star*, 1851, 379.

17. The *Millennial Star*, having received information from a very detailed publication, lists the total money received as 505,610 pounds, or \$2,528,050. This summary report in the *Star* truly exults in statistics. The number of visitors, workers, size of the building, panes of glass, weight of the steel girders, and so forth, were things of marvel, almost a fairy tale. (*Millennial Star*, 1851, 379-80.) If this was part of the proverbial and sinful Babylon, neither the *Star* nor the leaders would admit it; they obviously enjoyed the thriving city.

18. *Millennial Star*, 1851, 34.

19. Appleton Harmon, Diary, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

20. John Spiers, Diary, LDS Archives.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Harmon, May 31, 1851. The minutes of this preparatory meeting are found in the Manuscript History of the London Conference, May 31, 1851.

23. Spiers, Diary.

24. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1851.

25. Jesse W. Crosby, Journal, LDS Archives. This ceremony bears great structural similarity to other celebrations held on special church occasions. On July 24, 1849, Lorenzo Brown recorded that in Salt Lake City, "The people were awakened at an early hour by cannon Bells & the beating of Drums. At 7½ A.M. the people assembled at the stand. Shortly after, the first Presidency were escorted to the stand by 24 Bishops each bearing a flag, 24 young men carrying in their left hand a sword sheathed & in their right the constitution of the U.S., 24 young ladies in white carrying the Bible and Book of Mormon, 24 old men carrying flags all headed by the Brass Band after which the congregation were entertained by

singing from the 24 young men & 24 young Ladies, the 24 old men a number of speeches from different ones until dinner which I never saw equalled. After dinner Toasts were given. One by P.P. Pratt Deseret (which is the name of the Territory), Youngest member of the family. May she be a comfort to the old lady in her declining years. By J.M. Grant: Martin Van Buren & all mobocrats may they be winked at by blind men kicked cross lots by cripples nibbled to death by ducks & carried to Hell through the keyhole by Bumble Bees, etc. etc. . . . (Lorenzo Brown, "The Journal of Lorenzo Brown, 1823-1900," 2 vols., typescript [Brigham Young University], 1:56.)

John Lyon, one of the conference presidents in London in 1851, notes a very similar activity on April 6, 1853, while crossing the ocean, on the ship *International*. (Diary, in my possession.)

26. Harmon, Diary, June 3, 1851. Flanagan had been president of the Birmingham Conference and died of smallpox on January 28, 1851 (*Millennial Star*, 1851, 72-73). Burton was serving as president of the Dundee Conference and died on March 17, 1851, of "bilious or chill fever" (*Millennial Star*, 1851, 138-39). The date and cause of death of Barns are not known. The presidents in London raised 60 pounds to send the bodies of these American missionaries to Utah encased in leaden boxes (Manuscript History of the London Conference, June 3, 1851).

27. *Millennial Star*, 1851, 218.

28. Spiers, Diary, June 3, 1851.

29. *London Times*, June 3, 1851.

30. *London Times*, May 30, 1851. Many of the LDS visitors must have thought of the 1845 "Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles . . . To all the Kings of the World . . .," a document that bore witness to the Restoration and called upon the nobility of the world to repent and humble themselves and to "put your selves and your gold, your ships and steam-vessels, your railroad trains . . . into active use, for the fulfillment of these purposes" (James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency 1* [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965]: 253, 255; also Doctrine and Covenants 124: 3, 7, 9, 11).

31. *London Times*, June 3, 1851.

32. *London Times*, May 29, 1851.

33. *London Times*, June 3, 1851.

34. Christopher Hobhouse, *1851 and the Crystal Palace* (London: Butler and Tanner, 1950).

35. Harmon, Diary, May 28, 1851.

36. Spiers, Diary, June 4, 1851.

37. Joseph W. Young, Journal, June 5, 6, 20, 1851, LDS Archives.

38. Erastus Snow, Journal, May 30, 1851, in British Mission Manuscript History, LDS Archives.

39. Harmon, Diary, May 30, 1851.

40. Samuel W. Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby: Mormon Preacher, Pioneer, Man of God, His Ancestry and Life* (Boulder, Utah, 1977).

41. Ibid., June 3, 1851. Wilford Woodruff had also visited most of these sites in 1840, and while he praised the size and grandeur of London, he truly saw it as "Babylon";

"O London as I walk thy street & behold the mass of human beings passing through thee & view thy mighty pallaces, they splended mansions, the costly merchantize wharewith thou art adorned even as the capital of great Babylon, I am ready to ask myself, what am I & my Brethren here for? & as the spirit answers to warn thee of thine abominations & to exhort the to repent of thy wickedness & prepare for the day of thy visitation thy mourning thy calamity & thy wo, I am ready to cry out Lord who is sufficient for these things?" (Wilford Woodruff's Journal, August 18, 1840.)

"Priest & People are all Bound up in Bundles of tradition. There Bands are made strong & the whole City is given to whoredoms & all manner of wickedness & is ripe for judgment." (Woodruff, Journal, August 27, 1840.)

"London is the hardest place I ever visited for establishing the gospel. It is full of evry thing but righteousness." (Woodruff, Journal, September 2, 1840.)

42. In 1864 Brigham Young reminded all Saints of their "temporal and spiritual duties":

"It should be our constant desire and wish to know how to build up the Kingdom of God, and of necessity this Work calls forth an almost endless variety of talent, skill and labor.

"In building the great and notable cities of the world, it required the genius of the architect, and the skill and labor of the artizan, in all their variety. In building up the cities of Zion, and an earthly kingdom unto God, it will require all the wisdom and skill and cunning workmanship that are displayed in the arts and sciences now known to man, and revelation from heaven for still further advancement in the knowledge of every handicraft and means of adornment, to beautify the cities and temples that

will be built by the people of God in these last days." *Journal of Discourses* 10 [November 6, 1864]: 358.

43. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Poetry and the Private Lives: Newspaper Verse on the Mormon Frontier," *BYU Studies* 25, no. 3 (Summer 1985): 55-65.

44. Levi Richards, Diary, typescript, LDS Archives.

45. Cyrus Wheelock, Diary, LDS Archives.

46. Samuel Richards, Diary, December 1, 1847.

Mormon History Association Awards for 1987

Best Book

D. MICHAEL QUINN, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987)

Francis M. and Emily Chipman Award for Best First Book

RICHARD E. BENNETT, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852, "And Should We Die"* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987)

T. Edgar Lyon Award for Best Article

RICHARD S. VAN WAGONER, STEVEN C. WALKER, and ALLEN D. ROBERTS, "The 'Lectures on Faith': A Case Study in Decanonization," *Dialogue, a Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Fall 1987): 71-78

Special Citations

RICHARD JENSEN, for his work in organizing and directing the Brigham Young University British Isles and European Oral History Project in 1987

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S. GEORGE ELLSWORTH

The Ecclesiastical Position of Women in Two Mormon Trajectories

Ian G. Barber

To understand the history of women in the traditions that characterize early Mormonism, one must look beyond the twentieth century LDS and RLDS churches, which are by and large sociological examples of religious denominations. The phases in which this paper will discuss nineteenth century Mormonism are rather characterized by millennial and generally cooperative, if not communal, sectarianism; a separatist religious approach to restructure the contemporary social order.¹

Whether secular or religious, such radical "utopian" movements in nineteenth century America appear to have had a particular interest in women's issues, the family, and human sexuality.² The reasons for this interest are not all clear, but in addition to stress incidental to the group dynamics of such movements, broader social factors may include unsettling economic and technological developments in the larger society, especially industrialization, and a high level of family and personal relocation, particularly on the frontier. Since these developments affected the structure of the traditional European pioneer family with its rural emphasis and clearly defined values, a degree of anxiety and concern in society at large is understandable. As a reflection of social change, there is evidence that from the later eighteenth century on, North American women became increasingly involved in revivalistic religion, the often related evangelical perfectionist or holiness traditions, and re-

Ian Barber is a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology/archaeology at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. This essay is a revised version of a paper given at the Twenty-second Annual meeting of the Mormon History Association in Salt Lake City, Utah, May 1986.

ligiously connected benevolent societies or reform movements.³ These options often provided for women a level of involvement in relatively egalitarian religious contexts that they had not previously enjoyed, to the encouragement of community leadership, preaching, and the public exercise of spiritual gifts on occasion. The option of millennial and/or communal sectarianism tended to satiate the needs of women who were not satisfied with these more moderate religious solutions. In generally separatist and innovative religious situations, new arrangements and authoritative pronouncements were employed to meet the needs and concerns of such individuals in this age of change. In this respect, these movements often defied the very notion of traditional patriarchal authority in their organizational structure, as the heads of the community frequently qualified or even replaced the role of the father/husband as independent family head and provider, challenging established family dynamics.⁴

The Mormon tradition is known primarily in this regard for its system of polygyny, in which, many scholars maintain, women were perceived as dependent upon men for their spiritual salvation, assuming a subordinate ecclesiastical and family position within a hierarchical patriarchal order.⁵ It is the contention of this essay that "utopian" tendencies in Mormonism also included other, and on occasion seemingly feminist,⁶ options, consistent with the qualification of traditional authority structures demonstrated elsewhere in innovative religious contexts. The ecclesiastical and theological structures of two trajectories from Joseph Smith's Nauvoo Mormonism will be considered here to demonstrate this.

Alpheus Cutler and His "Church of Christ"

Alpheus Cutler, who was converted to Mormonism in 1835, followed the Church through its many vicissitudes into Nauvoo. Cutler was appointed captain over a company of the westward migration under Brigham Young, but he subsequently became disaffected, and in 1852 he and several families of his company settled in Iowa. When he perceived a celestial signal as a portent, Cutler organized "The Church of Jesus Christ" in 1853 at Manti, Iowa. Claiming that God's rejection of the LDS church after Joseph Smith's death did not constitute a rejection of "the Kingdom and the order thereof," Cutler promoted his right to organize as one of seven appointees especially ordained to this end by Joseph Smith Jr. By 1856, Cutler claimed to have 102 followers over the age of eight.⁷

The early records of the church remain closed to outside researchers, limiting accurate information on the role of woman in the early organization to a patriarchal blessing book housed in the RLDS Archives at Independence, Missouri. (In this paper, the terms "patriarch" and patriarchal blessing" refer to an ordained office and ministry in the Mormon priesthood, not to be confused with the broader cross-cultural patriarchal tradition, or the rule of men over women.) The few blessings that are dated toward the beginning and the end of this document cover May 1855 to June 1859. There are a total of seventy-four women's blessings in the record. Fifty-two of these promised to women all the blessings of the ancient biblical patriarchs, including on occasion the ancient foremothers, such as Sarah. In thirty-five instances, women were told they would share all the cumulative blessings of

the gospel with their faithful male companions. And twenty-nine women were told explicitly that they would enjoy either or both the blessings and authority of the priesthood, or would be "called forth" as priestesses.

In overall content, analysis reveals a consistent theme of eschatological work involving men and women. Notable recurring themes include the gathering of Israel, preaching to or teaching the "Lamanites" ("red men of the forest") as well as gathered Israel, returning to build up the center stake of Zion, and proxy ordinance work for the dead. For both sexes, promises of teaching and preaching the gospel occur frequently among the blessings. The only indication of sexual differentiation here is that women were in some instances told that they should preach or teach within their own sex or "sect." This may not have been a consistently rigid requirement, however, for Heriett Richards was told that her divine gifts would strengthen her sisters "and Even thy Brotheren . . . [and] few . . . can do more good than you to keep the brothers alive in the faith."⁸

Individual women—and sometimes their companions—were also blessed in connection with certain "gifts,"⁹ such as the ability to detect the hypocrite in Zion, causing the enemy to disperse and proving a means of deliverance.¹⁰ In part, at least, one gift was ability with languages, to facilitate communication with both converted Indians and Israel gathered from around the globe.¹¹ For one woman, this gift would cause her to "burst forth and communicate" with gathered Israel and provided protection from the plans of enemies.¹² More general spiritual gifts, such as angelic ministrations and visions, were also promised.¹³

With respect to priesthood, some women were blessed, simply, that they would "enjoy all the powers and blessings of the priesthood that the Saints Shall receive in this Last kingdom," or, in connection with the woman's companion, "the Same blessings in common . . . through that Lineage And the Priesthood."¹⁴

Other blessings elaborated further. Caroline Davis was promised "the gifts of the gospel to follow the[e] to give you a Testamony . . . of the work and the power of the priesthood which thou shall hold."¹⁵ Lewis A. Sherman was blessed to become "a great Councilor among your sect," to receive through obedience "the Powers of the priesthood," to "overcome and rain [reign] with your Father and mother," and to be "a strong pillar" in the kingdom of God.¹⁶ She was also blessed with the priesthood and told that she was to "hold the Septer as they did of old in thy Sect[;] thou Shall become great in thy sphere, thou shall rule." Further, "by that Priesthood thou Shall overcome all of thy adversaries . . . you will become a conqueror and you and your companion Shall enjoy the Blessings and the power of the priesthood . . . many shall rejoice . . . and when the[y] obey thy counsel they shall rejoice."¹⁷ While not specifically promised the priesthood, Charlotte Calkins was blessed as a "ruler over your Sect."¹⁸ Florence [Francis] Liles was told she would receive "all blessings . . . through that Priesthood for thou art a chosen vessel . . . to build up the church and kingdom"; she was also promised instructional opportunities.¹⁹ Mary Hougas would "be equal to . . . thy companion in Priesthood." Just as he would be a councilor and hold an important station in the kingdom, she was promised, "thou shall be equal with him in thy Station [and] thou shall stand a great councillor."²⁰

An egalitarian ethos is implied, as blessings, power, authority, and priesthood, as well as lineage and relational blessings, were shared between the sexes. However, having a companion was not an absolute prerequisite: Lucy Bunker was promised "that Priesthood that melchisedick conferd upon abraham . . . Conferd on the[e] to Prepare the[e] for the work that is for the[e] to do here . . . in helping thy Brotheren to prepare and sisters for the greate revelation which Is to come. . . . the Lord will Cloth the[e] with the Royal diadems of that Priesthood That thou Shall hold a mighty influence Among thy relation[s] and also Thy Brotheren and Sisters. . . . And the power of God shall attend the[e] and the gifts of the gospel." In addition, "thou Shall yet have if thou will A companion That shall help thee in temporal and spiritual [matters]."²¹ Frankly, the companion seems little more than a bonus to her own independent priestly call and blessings.

The blessings provide brief but intriguing insights into the ritual expectations and opportunities for the female priesthood in this community. Such authority seems to bear special relationship to the oft-mentioned proxy rituals performed on behalf of deceased persons. Rebecca Whiting was told she would "be endowed with the power of the Priesthood" to qualify her "to do . . . work . . . For your dead friends." Lamira Cutler would have the "blessing of the holy priesthood . . . to do the work for Thy friend[s] Both the Living and the Dead," while Mary Redfield was promised advancement "in the Priesthood to that degree that you will be qualified for every Work that pertains to the Priesthood that is doing the great work For your dead friendds [sic]." A power of temporal redemption also characterized the female priesthood; Martha Lebaron, for example, would "become great in the Power of the priesthood and in the kingdom of God here on the earth. . . . Power and authority is here to save the people and you with them And ride triumphant over your enemys." This may refer to the protective gift of interpretation and discernment; in this connection, she was also blessed with "the gifts . . . to help you out of Trouble . . . and deliver you . . . from the hands of your Enemys."²²

A very specific ordinance of male and female priestly administration was also identified. Thus Mary Pratt would hold "the Crowning power in the Last time," watching thousands crowned who had come from afar, "and also tho[u] Shall Crown thy hundreds." Caroline Davis, recipient of an explicit promise of priesthood, was told she would be "crowned quain [Queen] and Priestests [sic] to God" while her companion was crowned a king and priest; she would hold "the crowning and Sealing power to crown and Seal others and Anisheate [initiate] them into the kingdom of God here on the earth."²³

With respect to all of these priesthood gifts, Alpheus Cutler's wife Lois (or Lowis) received the most expansive blessing of the lot. Predictably, she was promised "all the blessings of the Priesthood with Him [Alpheus]" and would be "a Chosen vessel of honer" if she helped her companion in "all his work That he is called to do." Further, "No one will be crowned with greater Blessing, here and hereafter, than you. In and among your sect you shall hold the Crowning and Sealing power . . . to the house of israel. You shall have access to all the Different tribes, tounges, and people, with your companion . . . [and] all the blessings as far Back as abraham [and] Adam of the priesthood, you are, with your companion,

entitled to. . . your Priesthood is of that power, with your companions. . . *Above any* in this world at present, that entitles you . . . [to] bring all your Children . . . grand children . . . all your relatives, and many more, and present them to Christ, in spite of men or devils." Patriarch Fisher concluded, "your Companion and you, are before Me, & allways will be."²⁴ Clearly, Lois was "to share and extend" the power of priesthood presidency vested in her husband.

From what little can be gleaned of the theological rationale behind female priesthood, it is apparent that Fisher had a perception of scriptural precedents. Thus Submit Beebe received "all the Blessings that comes through That Lineage of Priesthood which [were held by?] the handmaides Even Sarah and Rebecka and Rachel and mary of old that Set at the feet of Jesus." Lucy Bunker was promised that the "Priesthood that melchisedick conferd upon abraham . . . that Sarah received And Rachel . . . down to mary Shall be Conferd on the[e]." Caroline Davis, who received a very explicit priesthood promise, was blessed "to do the work Both for the Living and the dead . . . to become Equal with Sarah of old And Rachel."²⁵

A difficult question now deserves consideration: To what extent do these promises reflect the actual socio-ecclesiastical position of women in this community? Were they titular, symbolic, completely eschatological, or to some degree at least functional? In the contemporary church, President Julian Whiting has informed me, women are still understood to have a priesthood role, apparently in the highest ordinances of the priesthood, but these are not discussed publicly.²⁶ Otherwise, only men are ordained to church office. However, since the modern church has not maintained intact all of its early kerygma, such as eternal marriage,²⁷ the contemporary situation cannot necessarily increase one's understanding.

There can be little doubt that in preaching to and crowning the gathered of Israel, one is dealing with a purely eschatological hope. Similarly, Alice Osler was told that she would enjoy "all the powers and blessings of the Priesthood that the Saints shall receive in . . . the winding up Scene of all things."²⁸ Furthermore, available evidence, such as the male blessings in the Pliny Fisher Patriarchal Blessing Book, consistently and unequivocally demonstrate male leadership in both eschatological promises and apparent duties in the contemporary community, compared to more occasional and sometimes ambiguous promises to the women. The previously cited sources also indicate that Alpheus Cutler remained supreme leader, to be succeeded only by male priesthood authorities. Whatever feminism was present in this community, therefore, it was apparently not a total vision, nor organizationally substantive, at least in any long-term sense.

Yet some promises that women would rule, preside, and counsel do seem to have a contextual application to a contemporary reality, in the 1850s at least; thus Lois Cutler was told in her expansive blessing that "many . . . sisters would apostitise; if . . . not for your Exa[m]ple, And . . . godly walk and Conversation." Further, to Lamira Cutler came the promise that "Mother Cutler . . . [will] by that authority that is wre[s]ted on her Seal many Blessings on you which will help to prepare you For the work that lies before you to do."²⁹ The promises of proxy ordinance work through priesthood power had an obvious temporal applicability, as did at least some of the promises of regal ordination. Thus Caroline Davis and her companion

were so crowned and, in this connection, "Sealed to geather" for time and eternity; thereafter *both* would "Crown and Seal others and Anisheate [initiate] them."³⁰ And for those women who were promised spiritual endowments, it is well to consider Alpheus Cutler's 1856 claim that such gifts "are here among us."³¹ Clearly these promises, whether symbolic or real, suggest the perception of at least some early Cutlerites that women, along with men, should be equal participants in God's blessings, whether temporal, spiritual, or priestly. While not a radical feminist reconstruction, perhaps, this is at least suggestive of feminist tendencies in early Cutlerite ecclesiology and theology.

Sidney Rigdon and the "Children of Zion"

By 1856, Sidney Rigdon, Joseph Smith's one-time counselor in the First Presidency, was living in Friendship, New York. Around March of that year, Rigdon sent to Stephen Post, an 1835 Kirtland Mormon convert, a revelation appointing Post "to assist him [Rigdon] in sending forth the word of the Lord to the world." Thereafter Post preached and "set forth the revelations shewing the appt. of S Rigdon as president of the church."³² For health and family reasons, Rigdon conducted the church that resulted from these actions by correspondence from Friendship.³³ After 1864 the "operative Priesthood" of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Children of Zion was headquartered under counselors Stephen Post and Joseph Newton in Attica, Iowa.

From journal entries, it appears that Post both opposed polygyny and possessed a traditional patriarchal interpretation of family relations before association with Rigdon.³⁴ With respect to the latter point, at least, Rigdon felt differently. On March 25, 1856, he directed that a prophetic school of men and women be organized in Kirtland, "for the Lord has told me that all the children of the restitution both male and female must be taught . . . that all may know the Lord."³⁵ On January 25, 1864, Rigdon recorded a revelation placing himself at the head of Zion; his wife, Phebe, was also commended as "worthy of confidence by all the children of Zion." Having shared all of Rigdon's afflictions, Phebe now enjoyed more faith "than any living woman," so that the Lord had placed at the head of Zion "a perfect priesthood . . . [and] I [the Lord] alone have charge of them."³⁶

On March 10, 1864, Post received a communication as "the word of the Lord which came to Phebe his prophetess."³⁷ By October of that year, a revelation directed the organization of a quorum of female prophets "free from all earthly authorities, that I the Lord might be their ruler without [men or] the sons of men having any claim to them by virtue of any Gentile covenant."³⁸ This "queenly quorum" was to put "blessings upon the heads of the priesthoods," and the children of Zion were exhorted to "respect . . . the voice of the matronly authority." The Lord also directed the ordination of Sarah Newton, wife of First Presidency counselor Joseph Newton, "to the office of a prophetess in Zion." Her calling was to stand with Sidney and Phebe Rigdon "in the holy priesthood to be ministers to Zion in the sacred things, which I the Lord reveal to them."³⁹ And on February 24, 1867, Rigdon confirmed to Post that Sarah Newton enjoyed "the same position you have obtained and a right for her voice to be heard and respected as well as yours and br. Newton's

in all matters pertaining to . . . Zion."⁴⁰ Bro. Forgeus, who was appointed as president of the Twelve, who had "quibbled" over Sarah Newton's power to choose the other members of his quorum, and was subsequently upbraided and directed to go to Attica in the same month and place himself "under the instruction of sister Newton and the brethren there."⁴¹

Stephen Post reinforced that those who had been called to the Twelve should be presented at Attica to sister Newton, "who had [had] a vision of the 12 at the time of morning prayer," and who had been visited by a heavenly messenger identified as Obadiah. "The Lord made her a judge of the work of choosing the 12," Post added. On March 8, 1868, Post was washed and anointed at Brother Newton's, and thereafter was ordained a prophet, priest, and king, "assisted by Sarah Newton . . . [who] blessed me with the fulness of the priesthood." On July 4, 1868, the church assembled in a holy convocation at Attica. There, early in the morning, the Twelve were washed and anointed and then ordained by Stephen Post and Joseph Newton, after which Sarah Newton came forward "and blessed them in the name of the Lord." Post adds, "Most of us . . . in looking at the vision [of Sarah Newton] believed that Obadiah would come into the presence of the 12." As this did not occur, "discontent spread and the good spirit in a measure withdrew."⁴² A later church publication declared that the "disappointed brethren at Attica . . . remained inactive, but the sisters assembled at the same place not long after, and were blessed with the gifts and spirit of God."⁴³ For Rigdon, here was a unique witness of God's work: "When did the Lord ever before select authorities . . . to be ordained before him by inspiring a woman . . . through the ministration of an Holy Angel."⁴⁴

On June 1, 1868, Sarah received a revelation from Sidney to "separate . . . out of the daughters of my people . . . one out of each branch of Zion . . . to minister before the Lord." Thereafter these women were to participate in a holy convocation for "ordination to the office of an elder and to assist in presiding over the branch in which they reside." Sarah was also to copy for the instruction of these elders all of the communications she had received from Phebe. That October, Jane Post was called by the Lord through Phebe Rigdon to be a "presiding officer" of the female quorum.⁴⁵ The convocation to ordain the women as elders took place as planned in January 1869. Sarah Newton blessed them afterwards "according to her holy calling." At a succession of prayer meetings beginning that evening and extending over the next few days, the sisters sang in tongues and saw visions. Post noted, "These blessings make a great increase of faith & zeal in the branch."⁴⁶ The sisters were now firmly established and supported as priestly ministrants.

Among the priesthood callings devolving upon women, that of instruction was most emphasized by Sidney and Phebe Rigdon. To Sarah Newton, Phebe claimed for the Lord that "the duty of our calling . . . in the female department . . . of the first presidency . . . [is] to bless." The women were to teach God's word as a conduit for such blessings to the children of Zion, Phebe added, citing Joseph Smith's 1832 revelation in which the Church was declared to be under condemnation for not heeding "the Book of Mormon and the former commandments"; Sidney subsequently cited this revelation to demonstrate how the female priesthood would save

the church from condemnation.⁴⁷ In respect to this calling, he wrote: "These things were between the Lord and herself . . . I have had nothing to do with them thus Zion has a female priesthood."⁴⁸

In the structure of female priesthood organization, the Attica church records indicate that female officers served as elders, teachers, deacons, and priests, positions corresponding to those held by males.⁴⁹ Sarah Newton's role in blessing has already been noted; other journal entries refer to the sisters blessing a newly ordained member of the Twelve as well as participating in the actual ordination in company with the male priesthood.⁵⁰ These entries suggest that blessing the newly ordained was a special calling devolving upon the female priesthood. Women were also involved in blessing the sick and, as already noted, enjoyed visions and the gift of tongues and prophecy.⁵¹ As Rigdon explained, "Where ever there is a male authority there must be a female. . . the female priesthood must go hand in hand with the male and her priesthood has all the authority and power of the male; if an elder, to baptize lay on hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost and administer the sacrament and preach and teach." The Twelve and the Seventy were exceptions, being "a traveling priesthood and as such woman cannot go with them but all local authorities are both male and female." Additionally, "two females [Phebe Rigdon and Sarah Newton] . . . the Lord has set . . . at the head of Zion . . . [in] a position that makes the male priesthood bow to their mandates."⁵²

Preaching and ordination certificates had the signatures of both male and female members of the First Presidency.⁵³ The only role that women do not appear to have initially shared is that of traveling minister, or apostle, as noted above. By 1870, however, Rigdon taught that the female department of the First Presidency should appoint a female prophetic quorum of twelve separate from the female quorum of elders.⁵⁴ And in a revelation dated December 5, 1873, and countersigned by Phebe and Sidney Rigdon, the Lord promised to qualify his servants, including "handmaidens too all of whom shall be endowed with power from on high . . . [who] in my name and by my power . . . shall gather Israel." As Sidney had suggested earlier, "Where it [the female priesthood] will go time only will disclose."⁵⁵

The theology developed by Sidney and Phebe provided a solid, and in many respects innovative, basis for female priesthood. During October 1864, Sidney stressed in a revelation God's initial creation of two sexes and explained: "This order [female priesthood] is in accordance with the faith and prayers of [Adam and Eve] . . . and . . . must also be the order of the restitution of all things."⁵⁶ An 1865 revelation explained that this order provided "security and deliverance" from oppression and subjugation by men, the last the result of woman's being "first in the transgression."⁵⁷ Acknowledging that "the female priesthood had been cast to hell's gates and trampled under foot, with abominations heaped upon it throughout all ages," Rigdon gloried that "now, this glorious power . . . has . . . loomed up out of the midst of oppression and tyranny, and has entered into Zion with redemption in its progress."⁵⁸

This eschatological emphasis, stressing the necessary function of the female priesthood and woman's redemption from man's rule, was foundational to the church's theology. Rigdon's most frequent proof text in this respect was John the

Revelator's description of "a great wonder . . . a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars," who brought forth a man-child to rule all nations.⁵⁹ Her regalia signified "that all the authorities of Zion should give heed to her voice," Rigdon wrote on behalf of the Lord in October 1864. "The quorum of female prophets which I the Lord am preparing was what the woman in the vision represented," he continued. The woman standing on the moon was a representation of women's triumph "over all subjection . . . clothed with all the authority of the highest and holiest priesthood ever bestowed on man."⁶⁰ With perhaps further reference to the primal transgression, Rigdon recorded in a revelation of October 1872 that former apostles and prophets had not realized "it was by the afflictions and sufferings of woman that the earth was peopled, and that it must be through her exaltation and glorification that the world would be delivered from . . . sin." For example, John the Revelator had been overwhelmed in his vision in seeing "women clothed . . . with the royal apparel of the Holy priesthood," and realized that he had cherished "incorrect notions." Thus, "Christ could not come until the holy Priesthood was bestowed on woman, [and] John well knew that no such thing had place in the church he had assisted to organize." Such would effect women's deliverance, so that the "times of your subjection swiftly passeth away," the revelation concluded.⁶¹

This innovation received a degree of resistance and opposition. With apparent reference to the language of someone's critical commentary, Rigdon claimed that the Lord had placed his approbation upon the priesthood "of the '*Crime*' of the great '*sin*' that ought to be repented of.'" "Be astonished O gainsayers if not ashamed," he added, claiming that contention and strife under the first priesthood's rule had now fled before the female priesthood.⁶² For the benefit of D. L. Rees, "for whom the female priesthood is the bone of contention," Rigdon outlined the necessity of this priesthood in saving the church from condemnation.⁶³

Phebe Rigdon's presidency was perceived as especially immune to challenge or even subtle accommodation. In the early 1870s, her husband directed that the church should preach and eventually relocate in Canada. As a missionary responding to this call, Robert Bohn ordained the wife of a presiding Canadian elder. On learning of this, Phebe petitioned the Lord for protection from Bohn, who, she said, had used his priesthood "to cast contempt on thine handmaiden . . . asseuming to himself the powers which belong to the priesthood of thine handmaiden." In an even stronger response, Sidney Rigdon received a revelation calling for Bohn's priesthood and name to be removed from Zion.⁶⁴ Rigdon thereafter relayed Phebe's instructions concerning "Canada affairs," to "ordain sister Green to the office of the High priesthood and . . . she shall be identified with the quorum of the presidency."⁶⁵

With Sidney Rigdon's death in 1876, the church did not last much longer. Phebe wrote to Joseph Younger in June 1877 and claimed, "I do not have any communication from the Lord for anyone." She subsequently affirmed Post's position as the head of the church, however, and expressed her own faith in the work.⁶⁶ Stephen Post died in Canada in 1879, and in a meeting held in the Green River (Manitoba) Branch on February 15, 1882, Jane Post was appointed branch head in order "that

it [i.e., the branch] be carried on under the instructions of the female priesthood."⁶⁷ With this last noble gesture, however, the Church of Jesus Christ of the Children of Zion passed into obscurity.

Origins and Implications

In considering these movements, one naturally inquires as to the origin of ostensibly feminist innovations in a patriarchal religious tradition. Given the lack of data, this is a difficult question to ask with respect to Alpheus Cutler. As noted, Pliny Fisher cited ancient scriptural precedents for a holy female priesthood, but such an exegesis may not have been original with Cutler's group. It is interesting to compare the Fisher Patriarchal Blessings with those given by Joseph Smith's uncle John L. Smith after 1844, a variety of which are available in publicly accessible collections. To cite just two examples illustrating the continuity of this tradition, consider a blessing given to Mehitabel Duty in December 1845 in Nauvoo, which said that "the Priesthood in its fullness shall be conferrd upon thee in due time[;] thou shalt have power over thy relatives & friends & thy husband . . . to preserve them in the bonds of the new & everlasting covenant." And to Mary Webster in November 1850 in Salt Lake City: "the priesthood shall be Confered upon you in due time with thy Companion making known unto the[e] Mysteries . . . giving power unto the[e] to heal the sick in thine house."⁶⁸

These promises are given within a certain context: that of the participation of both men and women in the advanced initiatory, sealing, and proxy ordinances associated with the temple ceremony, the culmination of which is ordination as priest/king and priestess/queen in the ordinance of the second anointing, or fullness of the priesthood.⁶⁹ It would be incorrect to leave the impression that women's participation in this culminating ordinance conferred *equal* priesthood rights with men, of course.⁷⁰ However, consistently in both the Pliny Fisher and the John Smith blessings, female participation in the second anointing was apparently understood to confer some level of actual and operative priesthood power upon the sisters.⁷¹

From the greater wealth of detail available for Rigdon's movement, it is apparent that Sidney felt he was initiating a unique religious revolution in the development of the female priesthood. "After the downfall of the old church," he wrote in 1869, "we [presumably Sidney and Phebe] presented ourselves before the Lord . . . [and he] showed us that to bring forth Zion there had to be a female priesthood."⁷² In 1871, a revelation also identified Phebe as "the first born daughter of the holy priesthood," while in the 1869 convocation Stephen Post could only cite as precedent for this innovation the prophetesses of the Bible and the promise of latter-day female charisma in Joel 2:28.⁷³

Rigdon, however, claimed an early Mormon precedent. In several letters to Stephen Post, he declared that in the original restoration of the priesthood, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery had brought to light the female priesthood. In a letter dated June 1868, Rigdon stated, "Emma Smith was the one to whom the female priesthood was first given and it was through giving it to her that that priesthood was brought to light." In support, Rigdon cited Joseph's revelation of July 1830 in which Emma was to be "ordained" to "expound scriptures, and to exhort the

church." However, he concluded, Emma did not "discharge the duties of this high calling."⁷⁴ In this respect, Rigdon claimed that Satan "had got the priesthood at the head of the [early Nauvoo] church into his power, entertaining no doubt but that the other priesthoods['] faith could not stand when they saw the prophet [Joseph Smith] and his companion at the head of the church filled with lying and slander."⁷⁵

It is interesting to consider Sidney Rigdon's model of church leadership, which appears to acknowledge Joseph and Emma Smith as precedent, with both serving as joint priesthood heads (Prophet and Prophetess) in Zion. An analogous governorship by Alpheus and Lois Cutler has already been considered. One should also compare the appointment of Eliza R. Snow by her church-president husband, Brigham Young, to lead the churchwide Female Relief Society in Utah in 1867. In this capacity, Eliza served as "presidentess, high priestess and prophetess" of Zion and, one could imagine, from perhaps late-Nauvoo and certainly Utah theology, further encouragement in the conception of a presiding father-mother deity.⁷⁶

It is instructive to explore further details of the Nauvoo precedent. In 1842, Emma Smith was ordained as president of the Nauvoo Relief Society, and Joseph claimed this was in accordance with the same July 1830 revelation that Sidney Rigdon believed to reveal the female priesthood. The operational instructions to the society are very reminiscent of Rigdon's later developments. "Let this Presidency serve as a constitution—all their decisions be considered law," Joseph instructed on March 17, 1842, with officers to be appointed and set apart, "as Deacons, Teachers, &c. are among us [ie the male priesthood]." As president, Emma was ordained to "expound the scriptures to all; and to teach the female part of the community," while the women were subsequently promised that they "should move according to the ancient Priesthood," so that the society would become "a kingdom of priests as in Enoch's day—as in Pauls day."⁷⁷ Joseph also told the sisters that women should exercise all the spiritual gifts promised to the believers; further, "it is the privilege of those set apart to administer in that authority which is conferr'd on them—and if the sisters should have faith to heal the sick, let all hold their tongues." Newell K. Whitney even told the sisters on May 28, 1842, that "without the female all things cannot be restored to the earth, it takes all to restore the priesthood."⁷⁸

These precedents are apparently also transmitted to some extent into the Utah Mormon tradition, as the example of Eliza Snow and the John L. Smith blessings suggest. Brigham Young even spoke in 1874 of "the woman that honors her priesthood," while Heber C. Kimball taught in 1857 that Mary was "of the Royal Priesthood, which is after the order of God," making her an appropriate mother for the son of God.⁷⁹

The larger question remains: where do these traditions find place in a supposedly patriarchal subculture? In dealing with the Joseph Smith developments and conveniently ignoring polygyny, some recent enthusiasts have even painted Mormonism's founding prophet as a radical feminist innovator. In truth, however, Joseph Smith was no Elizabeth Cady Stanton; yet as a charismatic leader influenced by the romantic tradition, he remained open to a variety of complex and even contradictory systems of thought. For him, the Saints should seek after everything "virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy"—clearly an eclectic approach.⁸⁰

Thus, while Joseph articulated an eschatological vision of priest-king gods presiding over their extended and polygynous family kingdoms of wives and children, he apparently also taught that queens and priestesses would preside in some fashion, albeit subordinate to male authority. Even in the polygyny revelation of July 12, 1843, men and women were promised together that they might become gods and have "all power, and the angels subject unto them."⁸¹ Perhaps Joseph would have harmonized more fully these various concepts and his directions to the quasi-priestly Nauvoo Relief Society had he lived; as things stood in 1844, however, the "utopian" creation of a new heaven and earth in Mormonism provided a complex variety of themes from which subsequent trajectories could draw.

For the followers of Alpheus Cutler, at least in part, and certainly Sidney Rigdon, it was the quasi-feminist precedents that were drawn upon. Given Rigdon's frequently stated abhorrence of polygyny and Joseph Smith's role in its introduction, this is understandable.⁸² Yet in Rigdon's critique of the "Gentile [marriage] covenant" which subjected women to male authority, and in the promotion of marital continence by at least some of his followers in "'The law of purity' [or] 'Celestial law,'" the Children of Zion represent but one end of a spectrum shared with nineteenth century Utah Mormons—a sectarian millennialist vision of a new social order.⁸³ Similarly, the seemingly quasi-feminist vision of Cutler's group was rooted in the same temple liturgy and theology that would be employed in Utah as the superstructure of Mormon polygyny. Insofar as these several approaches are seen as extended shadows of Joseph Smith's Nauvoo theology and praxis, one has further insight into the complexity of early Mormon thought.⁸⁴

NOTES

1. This interpretative approach is generally implicit in recent scholarly treatments of nineteenth century Mormonism. With respect to sexual relations, such an interpretation of social rearrangements has been developed by Louis Kern (*An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981]) and, with a relatively more extensive use of primary sources, Lawrence W. Foster (*Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1981]). Other useful discussions of polygyny from this perspective are Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 147-78; Carol Weisbrod, *The Boundaries of Utopia* (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 16-33; and Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986). My forthcoming work on gender and family in Mormonism will extend such an interpretation beyond polygyny in and of itself, in terms of sexual and gender dynamics. Upon a broad data base, I will suggest, in part, that Mormon social experimentation variously informed and proscribed family and gender-based relationships in many aspects of Mormon culture-history. This paper presents such an interpretation of one aspect of male/female interaction in early Mormon ecclesiology.

2. Raymond Lee Muncy, *Sex and Marriage in Utopian Communities: 19th Century America* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1973); Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*; Kern, *An Ordered Love*.

3. On revivalistic religion, see Martha Tomhave Blauvelt, "Woman and Revivalism," in Rosemary R. Ruether and Rosemary S. Keller, eds., *Women and Religion in America, Volume 1: The Nineteenth Century* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981), 1-45. On the perfectionist or holiness movement, see Nancy Hardesty, L. S. Dayton, and D. W. Dayton, "Women in the Holiness Movement: Feminism in the

Evangelical Tradition," in Rosemary R. Reuther and Eleanor McLaughlin, eds., *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 225-78; and Barbara J. MacHaffie, *Her Story: Women in Christian Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 107-16, which discusses nineteenth century American women in the evangelical movement, including revivalism and the holiness movements. On reform and benevolent societies, see Dorothy C. Bass, "'Their Prodigious Influence': Women, Religion and Reform in Antebellum America," in Reuther and McLaughlin, *Women of Spirit*, 279-300; Ann Boylon, "Women in Groups: An Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organizations in New York and Boston, 1797-1840," *The Journal of American History* 71 (December 1984): 497-515; and MacHaffie, *Her Story*, 93-106, which discusses women in mission and reform work. For a more general treatment suggesting the relationship of these developments to the broader nineteenth century feminist nexus in the United States, see Olive Banks, *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement* (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 13-27.

4. Barbara Brown Zikmund, "The Feminist Thrust of Sectarian Christianity," in Reuther and McLaughlin, *Women of Spirit*, 205-54; Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*; Kern, *An Ordered Love*; Muncy, *Sex and Marriage*; Rosemary R. Reuther, "Women in Utopian Movements," in Reuther and Keller, *Women and Religion in America*, 46-100; MacHaffie, *Her Story*, 117-28.

5. Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*; Kern, *An Ordered Love*; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*.

6. The term "feminism" is used here within its later twentieth century interpretive context. Both context and interpretation are nonstatic, and a considerable debate continues as to the meaning and ramifications of the term (e.g., see Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley, eds., *What Is Feminism: A Re-examination* [New York: Pantheon Books, 1986]). Whatever its nuances and implications, however, there seems to be a general consensus that "a feminist is someone who believes that women suffer discrimination because of their sex, that they have specific needs that remain negated and unsatisfied, and that the satisfaction of these needs would require a radical change (some would say a revolution even) in the social, economic, and political order" (Rosalind Delmar, "What Is Feminism," in Mitchell and Oakley, *What Is Feminism*, 8).

7. Alpheus Cutler to Zenos H. Gurley, January 29, 1856, holograph letter, Library and Archives of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri, hereafter cited as RLDS Archives; Patriarch Pliny Fisher blessing of Alpheus Cutler, ca. late 1850s, in Fisher's "Book of Patriarchal Blessings," holograph ms., RLDS Archives, p. 75; Rupert J. Fletcher and D. W. Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ* (Independence, Missouri: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1974); D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 197-99; Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration*, revised ed. (Bountiful, Utah: Restoration Research, 1982), 60-61.

Church Patriarch Pliny Fisher blessed Cutler as Joseph Smith's successor, with the right to have the deceased prophet's ministrations "as the son does from the father," holding "the seal of the Seventh dispensation . . . and of the first presidency." Later followers claimed that Cutler had received a unique and immediate promise of leadership when ordained with the seven appointees, as acknowledged by Brigham Young and others at Winter Quarters, and constituting "all the keys[,] power and authority that was ever put on Joseph" (Letters of C. Whiting to "Respected Friend" in Utah, August 16, 1888; S. J. Whiting to "Dear Sister" [Emeline, in Utah], April 27 and May 18, 1886, holograph letters, C. B. Christensen Collection, Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as LDS Archives). Cutler more modestly claimed for his organization spiritual gifts "not . . . [as] the Gouvernours of the Church, but as the legal witness of the truth." Consistent with this qualified claim of succession—perhaps not unrelated to Brigham Young's early view of his own caretaker administration (Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis," 215-20, 229-30)—W. W. Blair recorded a conversation with "Old Bro Cutler" in which Cutler is said to have claimed that the "Quorum of 7 ord[ained] by Joseph had no control over Spiritual affairs . . . [he] never claimed to be Josephs Successor" (entry for March 13, 1863, in 1863-1864 diary, holograph ms., RLDS Archives).

8. Fisher, "Book of Patriarchal Blessings," 104.

9. *Ibid.*, 45.

10. *Ibid.*, 52, 53.

11. *Ibid.*, 56, 79, 83, 129.

12. *Ibid.*, 85.

13. *Ibid.*, 49, 56-57, 67, 82, 83, 85, 90, 97, 102, 127.

14. *Ibid.*, 125-26, 96.

15. *Ibid.*, 117.

16. *Ibid.*, 54.

17. Ibid., 29.
18. Ibid., 18.
19. Ibid., 108.
20. Ibid., 110.
21. Ibid., 102.
22. Ibid., 49, 79, 88, 92.
23. Ibid., 51, 117.
24. Ibid., 76-77.
25. Ibid., 85, 102, 117.

26. Based on several personal conversations with President Julian Whiting of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutler) in Independence, Missouri, May 1985.

27. President Whiting told me he is not aware that such a doctrine was once preached in Manti, while his church does not presently accept celestial [eternal] marriage sealings or the 1843 revelation on polygyny given to Joseph Smith (Shields, *Divergent Paths*, 63, 64). This raises a number of historical problems, as the concept of a marriage covenant enduring into eternity appears in several of Fisher's Patriarchal Blessings (e.g., "Book of Patriarchal Blessings," 105, 117, 125). LDS church records in Salt Lake City also indicate that Cutler himself was sealed to six living women, besides his first wife, Lois, in 1846 in Nauvoo (Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* [Provo, Utah: Seventies Mission Bookstore, 1981], 255, 339 n. 32). Family tradition suggests that Cutler subsequently put away his plural wives when confronted with legal opposition, although two of these women continued to live at Manti with the Cutler group. See Clare B. Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah* (Salt Lake City: Clare B. Christensen, 1979), 183, 351. The Fisher patriarchal blessing book contains no apparent allusions to polygyny, however, while later followers of Cutler who had lived during his leadership expressed both unfamiliarity with the doctrine and an aversion to its practice. See letters of S. J. Whiting, April 27, 1886, and C. Whiting, June 30, 1893, and March 10, 1894, written to "Dear Sister Emeline" in Utah, holographs in C. B. Christensen Collection, LDS Archives. In addition, Joseph Smith III, a keen observer and harsh critic of polygyny in the Mormon restoration tradition, recalled from the mid-nineteenth century that the group led by Cutler "were honest and virtuous, . . . and their morality unquestioned in the community, as far as I knew" (Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, ed., *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration* [Independence, Missouri: Herald House, 1952], 155). Access to the original Cutler church records might help to resolve these contradictions.

28. Fisher, "Book of Patriarchal Blessings," 125-26.

29. Fisher, 79.

30. Fisher, 117.

31. Alpheus Cutler to Zenos Gurley, January 29, 1856.

32. See S. Rigdon to S. Post, March 25, 1856, Post correspondence, box 1, folder 3, and entries for April 9, 1856, and October 25, 1857, in the Journal of Stephen Post, January 1849-March 1859, holographs, Stephen Post Collection [hereafter SPC], LDS Archives. This little-used and important collection of correspondence, diaries, church records, and miscellaneous papers was acquired from a Stephen Post descendant in 1972.

33. This seems clear from a number of items found in the correspondence files of the Post collection; see also Thomas J. Gregory, "Sidney Rigdon: Post Nauvoo," *BYU Studies* 21 (Winter 1981): 51-67. In this interpretation I am taking an alternative explanation to Quinn, who suggests that in leading from a distance Rigdon "refused to have personal contact with a movement that had disheartened and disgraced him so many times" (Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis," 192-93). Otherwise I am in general agreement with Quinn's very useful study.

34. Entries for July 9, 1850; October 7, 1855, and March 13, 1859, in Post journal, January 1849-March 1859, SPC.

35. S. Rigdon to S. Post, March 25, 1856.

36. Post, "Copying Book A. & Book of the revelations of Jesus Christ to the Children of Zion Through Sidney Rigdon," section 4.

37. Ibid., section 134.

38. Ibid., section 15.

39. A further revelation of October 1864, recorded as section 16, *ibid.*

40. Ibid., section 30.

41. S. Rigdon to J. A. Forgeus, February 4, 1868, Post correspondence, box 1, folder 15.
42. See journal entries under these dates in Post journal, April 1866–March 1869.
43. *A Christian Message to All People* (Glenwood, Iowa: Published by the authority of the Church of Christ, 1887), 17–18.
44. S. Rigdon to S. Post, March 7, 1868, Post correspondence, box 1, folder 15.
45. Post, "Copying Book A," sections 35, 43.
46. Entries for January 4, 5, and 11, 1868, Post journal, April 1866–March 1869.
47. S. Rigdon to S. Post, May 1870; August 9, 1870; and November 3, 1870, Post correspondence, box 2, folders 3, 6.
48. S. Rigdon to S. Post, February 5, 1870, Post correspondence, box 1, folder 15. Rigdon stated bluntly the expected end results of the teaching of the female priesthood in a letter to Post (correspondence, box 2, folder 1) dated March 1869: "to this end was this female priesthood ordained to rebuke and chasten ambitious wretches calling themselves men who pride themselves in doing what they call smart things." This statement demonstrates well the challenge Rigdon intended female priesthood to offer traditional male authority.
49. Stephen Post, "Church Record Attica Branch (Iowa) of The Church of Jesus Christ of the Children of Zion[,] Manitoba com[mencing] page 20," holograph, SPC.
50. Entries for November 13, 1870; September 24, 1871; and March 8, 1874, in Post journal, March 1869–April 1874; cf. Rigdon to Huffaker, n.d. [early 1868], in Post correspondence, box 1, folder 16.
51. Entries during February and March 1877 in Post journal, February 1876–January 1879.
52. S. Rigdon to S. Post, January 1869, Post correspondence, box 2, folder 1. Perhaps conceding the unique and challenging nature of this innovation, Rigdon continues in this letter: "The glory of the female priesthood is only dawning, and to where it will go time only will disclose. We know not that the Lord will ever again arrange another order of things through which any of the daughters of Zion beside these can ever reach the glory which they [female members of the first presidency] have secured to themselves, and as far as we are concerned we have no desire he should."
53. Elder's ordination certificate of Jane Post, March 1869, and preaching license of Stephen Post, February 22, 1870, in Post miscellaneous papers, box 3, folder 10, SPC; cf. S. Rigdon to S. Post, January 18, 1869, Post correspondence, box 2, folder 1.
54. S. Rigdon to S. Post, November 5, 1870, Post correspondence, box 2, folder 6.
55. Stephen Post, "Copying Book B. And Book of the revelations of Jesus Christ to The Children of Zion through Sidney Rigdon," section 84, holograph, SPC; S. Rigdon to S. Post, January 1869, Post correspondence, box 2, folder 1.
56. Post, "Copying Book A," section 16.
57. *Ibid.*, section 56.
58. S. Rigdon to S. Post, January 1869, Post correspondence, box 2, folder 1.
59. New Testament, Revelation 12:1, 5.
60. Post, "Copying Book A," sections 15, 70.
61. *Ibid.*, section 64.
62. S. Rigdon to S. Post, January 1869, Post correspondence, box 2, folder 1.
63. S. Rigdon to S. Post, May 1870, Post correspondence, box 2, folder 4. For other indications of tension resulting from the operation and jurisdiction of female authority in the Church, see S. Rigdon to S. Post, May 5, 1868; March 1869 [two letters]; and April 1869, Post correspondence, box 1, folders 4, 15, and 20; October 1869 and July 29, 1871, box 2, folders 3 and 8; entry for November 13, 1870, Post journal, March 1869–April 1874; revelation dated October 1871, Post, "Copying Book A," section 63.
64. Enclosure in a letter from S. Rigdon, dated October 14, 1873, Post correspondence, box 2, folder 10.
65. Revelation of October 8, 1872, Post, "Copying Book A," addendum to section 70.
66. P. Rigdon to Joseph Younger, June 3, 1877; P. Rigdon to S. Post, March 26, 1878, and December 16, 1878, Post correspondence, box 3, folder 5, and box 5, folder 8.
67. Post, "Church Record Attica . . . Manitoba."
68. *Mehitable Duty*, patriarchal blessing, December 27, 1845, City of Joseph, by John L. Smith,

holograph, Patriarchal Blessing Collection, RLDS Archives; Mary Webster, patriarchal blessing, November 23, 1850, Salt Lake City, by John L. Smith, holograph, Emma Smith Woodruff Collection, LDS Archives.

69. D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 83-96; Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question," Master's thesis (History), Brigham Young University, 1981, 76-96, 145-48; Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith* (Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980), 286 n. 25, 297-99 ns. 7 and 8, 303-4 n. 22, 305-7 n. 30; David Buerger, "The Fulness of the Priesthood: The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Spring 1983): 10-44; Rex E. Cooper, "The Promises Made to the Fathers: A Diachronic Analysis of Mormon Covenant Organization with Reference to Puritan Federal Theology," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Anthropology), University of Chicago, 1985, 229-33; Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Mormon Women and the Temple: Toward a New Understanding," in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 102-3.

Some knowledge of temple ritual and theology may be assumed among both the Cutler and Rigdon groups. Alpheus and Lois Cutler received temple ordinances together in Nauvoo under Brigham Young and the Twelve (see "Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," typescripts and clippings, LDS Archives, entry for December 11, 1845), both also having earlier received the endowment and second anointing in 1843 under Joseph Smith (Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 255; Buerger, "The Fulness of the Priesthood," 23). Sidney Rigdon also received advanced temple ordinances and instruction during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, although not a personal ministration of the second anointing. Nevertheless, shortly after Joseph's death, Rigdon ordained "prophets, priests and kings without any ordinance or authority," as noted by William Clayton and other contemporary observers (Quinn, op. cit., 88-89, and "The Mormon Succession Crisis," 191; Ehat and Cook, op. cit., 306; Buerger, "The Fulness of the Priesthood," 23; Nauvoo letter of William Clayton to Wilford Woodruff October 7, 1844, holograph, LDS Archives). Rigdon later instructed the priesthood of the Children of Zion in washings, anointings, and an ordination to the office of "prophet[,] priest and king," again without apparent reference to a temple ordinance or ritual. See entries for March 8 and July 4, 1868, in Post journal, April 1866-March 1869.

70. Whatever level of power or even authority women may have enjoyed under the auspices of the second anointing in early Mormonism, the authorities previously cited on this ordinance implicitly acknowledge that women were still considered structurally subordinate to the male hierarchy. In the words of the ordinance, a woman was anointed as a queen and priestess "unto her husband."

71. On nineteenth century Utah Mormon women encouraging this understanding, see Linda King Newell, "A Gift Given, A Gift Taken: Washing, Anointing, and Blessing the Sick among Mormon Women," *Sunstone* 6 (September/October 1981): 16-25, and "Gifts of the Spirit: Woman's Share," in Beecher and Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit*, 111-50.

72. S. Rigdon to S. Post, January 1869, Post correspondence, box 5, folder 7.

73. Revelation of October 1864, Post, "Copying Book A," section 63; entry for January 4, 1869, Post journal, April 1866-March 1869.

74. S. Rigdon to S. Post, June 28, 1868; March 14, 1871; June 10, 1871, Post correspondence, box 1, folder 15; box 2, folder 7.

75. Revelation of January 25, 1864, Post, "Copying Book A," section 41.

76. Maureen Ursenbach [Beecher], "The Eliza Enigma: The Life and Legend of Eliza R. Snow," *Charles Redd Monographs on American History: Essays on the American West 1974-1975*, Thomas G. Alexander, ed., no. 6 (Provo: Charles Redd Center for American History, 1976), 29-46.

77. It may be nothing more than coincidence, but in her blessing by Pliny Fisher, Elisabeth Richards was told that "the work in the last day will call for the Female as well as the male for the Ancient order will come which is the order of Enoch [*sic*]," Fisher, "Book of Patriarchal Blessings," 127. It is conceivable that these comments evidence an early Mormon conception of a sexually egalitarian order based around the archetype of Enoch's order.

78. Entries for March 17 and 30 and April 28, 1842, "A Record of the Organization and Proceedings of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo," microfilm of holograph, LDS Archives.

79. Sermons of June 28, 1874, and December 13, 1857, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool and London: F. D. and S. W. Richards, 1853-86), 17:119 and 6:125, respectively. For both Young and Kimball, these interpretations appear to have their origins in Nauvoo. Thus Young wrote on November 1, 1843, that his wife Mary A. Young was "admitted in to the priest orderer Preast [*sic*] hood" (Brigham Young Diary, October 1840-June 1844, holograph, LDS Archives, p. 21), while on December 7, 1845, Kimball entered the names of a number of women then members of "the Holy order of the Holy

Presthood" (Heber C. Kimball Journal, November 21, 1845–January 7, 1846, holograph, LDS Archives). Both men are here referring to the advanced priesthood ordinances associated with the temple ritual.

80. Article of Faith 13.

81. Cited in Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 250–51. The complexity of Joseph Smith's thought in this regard is illustrated in the same issue of the *Times and Seasons* in which an account of the founding of the Nauvoo Female Relief Society appears. In an article on spiritual manifestations, Joseph proclaims against contemporary female Prophet-leaders: "'God placed in the church *first apostles, secondarily prophets*:' and not *first women* . . . A woman has no right to found or organize a church; God never sent them to do it." (*Times and Seasons* 3 [1 April 1842]: 746). For perspective, it is also important to acknowledge that the feminist tendencies apparent in early sectarian Mormonism were substantively eroded over time in the larger movement, while the dominant vision of social and family reconstruction remained patriarchal and androcentric. See Ian G. Barber, "'There Was No Sin in It': Gender Dynamics and Women's Experience within Extra-Monogamous Traditions in Early Mormon Trajectories," to be published in a series of essays on women and Mormon polygyny edited by Lorie Winder Stromberg and Jessie Embry.

82. From secondary sources or inference, a connection between Sidney Rigdon and polygyny has been posited for at least a portion of his Mormon career (William H. Dixon, *Spiritual Wives*, 2 vols. [London: Hurst and Blackett, 1868], 1: 79–81; Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis," 192; Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 188, 322–23 n. 15; Gregory, "Sidney Rigdon," 60–62). While this is possible, the available primary sources reveal only a consistently antipolygynous stance from Rigdon's earliest association with Joseph Smith until his death. See Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 31, 71–73, 243 n. 3; *Messenger and Advocate of the Church of Christ* [formerly *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*] 1 (15 January 1845): 91; 1 (April 15, 1845): 176; Post, "Copying Book A," sections 22, 70; S. Rigdon to S. Post, June 10, 1871, Post correspondence, box 2, folder 8.

83. Post, "Copying Book A," sections 15, 26, 62; cf. letters of S. Rigdon to S. Post, December 7, 1856 (box 1, folder 3), October 17, 1858, (box 1, folder 5), February 28, 1859 (box 1, folder 6), July 4, 1874 (box 2, folder 14), and November 18, 1869 (box 5, folder 8), and Samuel and Mary Hughes to S. Rigdon, February 3, 1872 (box 2, folder 9), all in Post correspondence; entry for December 31, 1871, Post journal, March 1869–April 1874.

84. For a more detailed discussion of these issues, see Ian G. Barber, "Radical Approaches to Male/Female Relationships in Early Schismatic Mormonism: An Analysis and Reconsideration," paper presented at the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Mormon History Association, Oxford, England, July 1987.



Richard W. Sadler

Franklin D. Richards and the British Mission

Richard W. Sadler

Christmas day in 1851 found Elder Franklin D. Richards, president of the British Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, attending the "Latter Day Saints Soiree" at the Temperance Hall on Paragon Street in Liverpool. This was the second of four missions he would spend in England, the third Christmas he had celebrated in England, and the first in which he presided over the mission. During the year that was drawing to a close, Richards had celebrated his thirtieth birthday and the second anniversary of his ordination as an apostle by Heber C. Kimball. He had edited and published the *Millennial Star*, initiated the republication of the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants, and published numerous missionary tracts, including a new one he had compiled, "The Pearl of Great Price."

Richards's three terms as president of the British Mission as well as his apostleship were built on the experiences of his first British mission from 1846 to 1848. For that earlier mission, his diary was more detailed than during any of his other missions, and in it he recounted and reflected on his everyday experiences. This pocket-sized diary, often written in pencil, was filled with his hopes and problems as well as his humanity and his relationship with God as he prayed openly and discussed with God his trials and his concerns.¹

He came by his faith naturally. His parents, Phineas and Wealthy Richards, and his uncles Levi and Willard Richards responded to the call of the Restoration. The Phineas Richards family lived in western Massachusetts in the wooded and some-

Richard W. Sadler is professor of history and dean of the School of Social Sciences at Weber State College in Ogden, Utah. This paper was presented as his presidential address at the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Mormon History Association on July 11, 1987, at Liverpool, England.

times wild Berkshire Hills country. There, in 1836, Elders Brigham and Joseph Young, cousins to Phineas, preached Mormonism to the family. In 1838, at age seventeen, Franklin was baptized into the church, and from that time onward his life was intertwined with the experiences of the Saints. One of his younger brothers, George Spencer, was killed at Haun's Mill, and another, Joseph William, later died along the Arkansas River while serving as a member of the Mormon Battalion. Franklin was a young man in a young man's church, and his willingness to work at any task and to proselyte would recommend him to the church leadership. As a seventy, he was a missionary in Indiana during 1840 and 1841 and in Cincinnati in 1842. He met Jane Snyder during the fall of 1840 in Laporte, Indiana, and they were married two years later, on December 18, 1842, at Job Creek, Hancock County, Illinois.

Their first child, Wealthy Lovisa, was born in Nauvoo on November 2, 1843, and at about the same time, Franklin began to talk to Jane about their involvement in plural marriage. Jane responded favorably to their discussions. The concept of an expanded family was of great importance to most Mormons at Nauvoo. The restored gospel, the authority to act for God, and the opportunity to be involved in an extended celestial family through plural marriage and the law of adoption were principles that Richards practiced and promulgated.²

In May 1844 Franklin was ordained a high priest by Brigham Young, and he immediately left Nauvoo with other missionaries for the eastern United States. He had initially been assigned to England, but this mission experience for Franklin, as for many others at this time, included promoting Joseph Smith's candidacy for the presidency of the United States. The mission was cut short by the death of the Prophet, and Richards returned to Nauvoo by midsummer.³

Over the next two years, before Franklin finally left for England, he regularly worked in the Church Recorder's office, writing and transcribing—work that he described as “scribbling”—under the direction of his uncle Willard. He spent many days and nights working both in and around the Nauvoo Temple, to help complete the structure as rapidly as possible. Brigham Young had told him that he would leave for England two weeks after the upper rooms in the temple were finished.⁴ During the first three months of 1845, Franklin also filled an assignment to collect tithing and temple donations from among the Saints in the state of Michigan.

On January 8, 1845, before leaving for Michigan, Franklin attended a family meeting in the Seventies Hall. In attendance were the Richardses, Youngs, and others. Franklin noted: “Here we learned also that the right and power to hold the Keys of the Kingdom was ours by Blood. This caused my bosom to swell with joy for I was a branch of so excellent stock. I pray thou O God the eternal father to enable me so to live that I may never dishonor so good a parentage neither reproach thy hold [whole] cause but may so overcome the evils of this world which encompass me that I may be admitted to the enjoyment of all the Blessings of thy glory and enjoy a rich portion of thy good news while here in the flesh.”⁵

On October 3, 1845, when Franklin received permission to become involved in plural marriage, he wrote, “Tonight I was made glad that I might have other companions.” On December 13, Franklin and Jane, along with several other couples,

received their endowments, and on January 23, 1846, they were sealed as husband and wife. On receiving these ordinances, Franklin commented, "May we both keep close mouths, faithful spirits, and observe all things pertaining to the oath of the priesthood and be found faithful therein and never fall but use intelligence until we become fit for the presence of our Father in Heaven."⁶ Eight days later, on January 31, Franklin was sealed to Elizabeth McFate, who was given to him at the temple altar by Jane. Elizabeth moved in with Franklin and Jane, occupying a second-story room and assisting in the care of Wealthy. Jane described Elizabeth as young, pretty, amiable, very considerate, and kind, and "never in our associating together was there an unkind word between us."⁷ Jane's description of their relationship together was one of mutual respect, help, and admiration during difficult circumstances, which included Jane often being confined to bed because of sickness.

Franklin worked at the temple as a carpenter, and in the temple he assisted in giving endowments, participating in prayer circles, recording temple ordinances, and witnessing sealings, often until late into the night. The Illinois winter weather was harsh, and Franklin's health suffered. There was also a growing nervousness among the Mormons in Nauvoo as they anticipated leaving their homes and striking out for the West. In addition to their work at the temple, much of the Saints' time was involved in accumulating supplies and travel equipment in anticipation of leaving Nauvoo, rumors of and actual mob actions, and the selling of homes and property.

On April 27, 1846, Orson Hyde told Richards that he (Richards) was "a drafted man appointed by the council in camp to go to England immediately." More than two months would pass before Franklin left for England with his brother Samuel. He now gathered wilderness supplies for his family with greater intensity. He bartered for some supplies, and others were given to him by generous Saints. For such liberality he recorded prayers of thanksgiving in his diary.

On May 11, Franklin and Samuel received their missionary credentials, which were signed by Orson Hyde as president of the Council at Nauvoo and Wilford Woodruff as clerk.⁸ Nearly a month later, on June 4, Franklin struck a bargain for his two-story brick home and an acre of land, which he considered to be worth 500 dollars. He accepted an offer of two yoke of oxen and a wagon with a jack screw, chain, and a whip, all of which he estimated to be worth 125 dollars. By midnight on June 11, he had moved his family and goods across the Mississippi River. Over the next few days he spent time preparing his family for the move west, attempting to borrow money, and preparing himself to leave for England. On Sunday, June 21, he wrote, "I kept my bed late having lately lost much rest. After breakfast Jane gave me a good washing and wiping which with a clean change of clothes improved my feelings and made the very warm weather seem much more tolerable."⁹

By the end of June Franklin had supplied his family as best he could, and on July 3, Franklin and Samuel left their families at Sugar Creek, crossed the Mississippi, and spent the night in a deserted building in Nauvoo. They would be away for nearly two years, and during that time the small family that Franklin left in Iowa would suffer death and disease. On July 23, 1846, Jane, who was eight months

pregnant when Franklin left, gave birth to Isaac Phineas Richards (named for both of their fathers), who died the day he was born. Wealthy, who was approaching her third birthday and was the apple of her father's eye and the subject of many of his heartfelt journal reflections, was weakened and blinded by the journey across Iowa and died September 14, 1846. Elizabeth suffered from scurvy and tuberculosis and died at Cutler's Park nine months after Franklin's departure. With the loss of these three family members and with much sickness herself, Jane later said, "I only lived because I could not die."¹⁰ Letters and communications were slow in traveling between Franklin and Jane, and she didn't receive her first letter from him until April 1847, when he reported he was tending to Samuel, who was ill with smallpox. Because of her own recent experiences with death, Jane feared for Franklin's health.

The Missionary Journey Begins

The Richards brothers spent two months traveling to New York City, where they would board a ship for England. Leaving Nauvoo by steamboat, they journeyed down the Mississippi and up the Ohio to Pittsburgh, then to Philadelphia and on to Wilmington. They visited branches of the church all along the way, seeking funds for their missions. By late August they decided to visit relatives in western Massachusetts. In the eight days the brothers spent in Richmond, Massachusetts, family affairs and Mormonism were the main topics of discussion. Some family members welcomed the brothers warmly, while others suspected that the Mormons in the West "were a set of scoundrels generally." The missionaries read scriptures from the Bible and enjoyed family meals, which included loaf cake, preserves, pies, old cider, fried cakes, cheese, and delicious teas. After more than a week of reunion, the brothers prepared to leave Richmond. They and their relatives exchanged gifts. The missionaries were given clothing and food,¹¹ and their cousin Susan Peirson, who would later become Franklin's plural wife, gave him a lock of her braided hair.¹² To his cousin Mary E. Dewey, Franklin gave a poem he had composed and locks of his hair arranged in four rings, connected in the center.

Franklin and Samuel spent the next several days in Boston visiting historical places and meeting with the Saints. The meetings included prayers, singing, gospel discussions, and rebaptisms. Richards also collected one hundred dollars from the Boston Saints for "the probable wants of the twelve," with a promise of more if it was needed.¹³ When the missionaries learned that Orson Hyde, John Taylor, and Parley P. Pratt were in New York City and soon to sail for England, they left Boston, traveling by train and then by steamship. They reached New York September 8.

Over the next two weeks the missionaries made final preparations for the voyage to Liverpool. Passage for Franklin Richards, Samuel Richards, Moses Martin, and Cyrus Wheelock was booked on the *Queen of the West* at the second-class cabin rate of \$22.50 each. They also secured food for the voyage at a cost of \$25.00; they planned to cook for themselves, rather than hire the ship's cook. For Apostle Parley P. Pratt, Franklin secured passage on the same ship in first cabin at a fare of \$80.00. It was Elder Pratt who informed Franklin of the birth and death of his son.

While they waited for their sailing date, the Mormon elders spent time in New

York visiting church members, seeing the sights of Manhattan and Brooklyn, and preaching on the streets and in halls. The New York Saints contributed both money and means to assist the missionaries in their missionary efforts, and Franklin re-baptized eight brothers and eight sisters in the East River. He described the event in detail: "This was the most lovely sight of the sort I ever beheld. The light from the lamps and windows along the shore shone upon the salt water in such a manner that when it was stirred it appeared like a bed of liquid sparks and as I raised the candidates out of the water every falling drop seemed like a drop of fire. Others came to witness the scene, all was quiet while we attended to the ordinance. We returned and confirmed them."¹⁴

The missionaries also had several encounters with James J. Strang and his supporters, J. J. Adams, Samuel Bennett, and L. R. Foster, with angry words exchanged between the two groups when they found themselves preaching near each other.¹⁵

During the twenty-three-day voyage to Liverpool, Franklin proved to be a poor sailor. The *Queen of the West* was towed out to sea by the steamboat *Hercules*, and from that point on, Franklin spent much of the time in his bunk, struggling to keep his food down. Samuel cared for his seasick brother, washing him with water, and on some occasions washing him on both the inside and the outside with brandy. Although they encountered much rough weather, there were also good days when the elders felt at home walking the deck. They wasted no time in beginning gospel discussions with crew members and other passengers. Two young women, May Doe and Marcella Cain, seemed particularly interested. Each was given a copy of Benjamin Winchester's *History of the Priesthood* as well as numerous discussions about Mormonism. The elders' daily meals included such staples as potatoes, cod fish, and onions. On this voyage and throughout his mission, Franklin dreamed and recorded the comforting contents of his dreams.¹⁶

The ship docked at Liverpool on October 14 "in the midst of real English weather, cloudy, rainy, and disagreeable." Franklin Richards and Parley Pratt were the first two Mormons ashore. They remained together throughout the night. In his diary Franklin wrote: "Now, my Father, I ask thee in the name of Jesus Christ, and cause thy good spirit to abide with me that I may accomplish the work which is before me to do in this country to the honor and glory of thy great name. Promote the salvation of thy people in the kingdom and the establishment of Zion in the earth."¹⁷

Franklin D. Richards's missionary service in the British Isles had begun.¹⁸

The Church in Great Britain

Since July of 1837, when the first Mormon missionaries had landed at the Mersey River docks in Liverpool, the church in Great Britain had grown rapidly, and by the fall of 1846, there were nearly 18,000 converts. Elders John Taylor and Orson Hyde of the Quorum of the Twelve had visited Liverpool to try to resolve difficulties surrounding the British and American Commercial Joint Stock Company, under the direction of Thomas Ward and Reuben Hedlock. The *Millennial Star*, which had been edited by Ward and whose columns had advocated the Joint Stock Company, was placed under the editorial direction of Elder Hyde in October 1846,

and articles in the *Star* that month and subsequently disavowed the company and those involved with it. The experiment of placing native Englishmen in leading church positions in Great Britain had proved risky. Richards and his fellow missionaries were to be directed in their work by Elder Hyde until a new mission president, Orson Spencer, could arrive in early 1847. After spending about a week in Liverpool and Manchester, Elder Martin was assigned to London while the Richards brothers were sent to Scotland.¹⁹

The short voyage to Scotland was most unpleasant for Franklin. Rainy, windy weather made the sea rough, and once again he was almost constantly seasick. His cabin was about "knee deep in water," and at times he was able to stay on his feet only by holding onto the handle of the door. In the midst of this threatening situation, he commanded the wind and the waves to be silent, and the brothers enjoyed the rest of the voyage in peace. They arrived in Glasgow on Friday evening, October 23, 1846.²⁰

For the next two and a half months, Franklin presided over the church branches in Scotland. The Scottish weather was cold, and Franklin described his health as generally being feeble but tolerable. After he rebaptized Brother and Sister Kerr in the Clyde on December 2, his wet stockings froze fast to the ground. He traveled widely in the countryside as well as in Glasgow and Edinburgh, visiting with church members and often staying in their homes. He counseled the Saints, helped to train those in leadership positions, and presided over church courts. Three services were held on Sundays, and Franklin often spoke in each meeting. He noted that he was pleased to hear discourses by Parley Pratt on the subject of dreams, and John Taylor on "man, his origin, and destiny."

With his missionary colleagues, who included William Dunbar, George Watt, and John Lyon, Richards saw much of Scotland, including the falls of the Clyde, and the abbey where Robert the Bruce was buried. The missionaries also observed experiments on mesmerism and attended many plays. They enjoyed a closeness among them as they traveled, preached, ate, and talked with each other.²¹ Though many of the Scottish Saints were impoverished, they were generous with Franklin, often pressing money and other gifts in his hands.²² When he was short of money, he sold some of his books, but he read widely, including the scriptures, other books, and newspapers. Letter writing and letter reading were a part of his daily schedule, and he wrote often to friends and family.²³

On December 19, Samuel Richards received a letter from his brother-in-law, John Parker of St. Louis, informing him of the death of Orson Spencer, who was to have arrived in England shortly after the New Year. Franklin passed the news on to Elders Taylor and Pratt, who were visiting in Glasgow, and then wrote immediately to Orson Hyde. Hyde responded in a letter to Franklin on January 4, 1847:

Sir, by the suggestions of the spirit of God and those suggestions confirmed by the concurrent voice and counsel of Elders Pratt and Taylor, you are hereby notified and called to come to this city. In consequence of the death of brother Orson Spencer, you are chosen to preside over the church in England, Scotland, and Wales, Ireland, etc. But before you can act in that capacity, you must come here and enter in at the door by our blessing and confirmation. This letter from under

our hands does not authorize you to act in this high and responsible calling until you have received a confirmation of this appointment under the hands of the authorities of the church here. Therefore we beseech you to come and leave your brother Samuel in charge of Scotland. By this letter you will see the folly of Strang even admitting his letter of appointment to have been genuine. He did not enter in by the door namely the blessings and confirmation of the authorities of the church.²⁴

Franklin knelt in prayer several times after receiving Hyde's letter to thank God for his goodness and for this new assignment. He also prepared to leave Scotland immediately.

A New Assignment in Liverpool

When Franklin arrived in Liverpool on January 8, after another difficult sea voyage, he engaged a porter to carry his trunk to the *Star* office. There he met Orson Hyde, who was writing a valedictory address to the Saints. Hyde instructed him in the duties of the mission office as well as the responsibilities related to the *Star*. No doubt much of the advice he gave had been very much on his mind, for in the January 1847 issue of the *Millennial Star* he admonished the Saints to support missionaries both temporally and spiritually, and he wrote specifically about the new president: "We now throw the mantle of authority upon the shoulders of brother Richards. The spirit of wisdom and knowledge shall be with him and his word shall be an end of controversy to them that are saved, and a law to the upright in heart."²⁵

For the next two weeks, Franklin D. Richards, under the direction of Orson Hyde, presided over the mission. He learned the business of the *Star*, sent out bundles of books and tracts, and began to get acquainted with Liverpool. Parties were also held for the three apostles, who would leave soon for America.

On January 14, Orson Hyde was startled to receive a letter from William Appleby stating that Orson Spencer and Andrew Cahoon had sailed from New York City on December 14 and would shortly arrive in England. Contrary to earlier reports, Spencer was not dead! Nine days later, on January 23, Spencer and Cahoon arrived in Liverpool. Spencer was pleased to be in England and even seemed to enjoy reading his own obituary, which filled two pages, bordered in black, in the initial issue of the *Star*, dated January 1847. Franklin's term as president was short, but he remained in Liverpool to serve as Spencer's only counselor for the next year.²⁶

Spencer and Cahoon had brought many letters from the Saints who were now camped along the trail to the West. Among the letters were some that brought news of Franklin's family. He recounted in his diary:

I went to the office and read my letters which detailed the sufferings of my wife, the birth and death of our only son, Isaac Snyder, on the 23rd of July 1846, also the protracted sufferings from diarrhea, fever, chills, and fever and sore eyes of our only daughter, Wealthy Lovisa Richards and of her death on the 14th of September being two years and 10 months and 12 days of age. The account of her sufferings, the woman-like patience with which she bore them and the termination thereof by death together with the suffering of my wife and the multiplicity of care and sorrow attended upon the loss of both son and daughter to her in my absence called for the tears from my eyes in rich abundance. I spent about an hour in giving vent to my feelings in that way.²⁷

Although deeply affected by sorrow and by his own ill health, Franklin forged

ahead with missionary tasks in Great Britain. Liverpool was a major world port, and two of his duties were to greet missionaries and to arrange passage for missionaries and for Saints wishing to immigrate to America.²⁸ He became familiar with the Liverpool docks and shipping agents. Immigration from Great Britain was increasing, and the immigration offices were crowded. For the next year Richards's efforts were divided between the work of the mission office and proselyting. Publishing the *Star*, mission correspondence, sending memorials to members of Parliament, selecting hymns for a new hymnal (using both the Nauvoo hymnbook and English hymnals), and other responsibilities became so time-consuming that Richards, who had been faithful in writing in his diary on a daily basis, now began to resort to weekly summaries.

President Spencer and Franklin Richards read widely concerning events in England and abroad, including the debates over slavery in the Congress of the United States. Their responses to those events shaped the content of the *Star*, which often included accounts of calamities and world problems written to illustrate the last days and the restoration of the gospel. Editorials emphasized the benefits of emigration and the necessity of gathering to Zion. Typical of these is this selection from the May 1, 1847, issue:

The desire of the Saints in Liverpool and many other places is waxing unusually warm to rid their garments of the blood of all men, and leave a faithful testimony to this nation before they depart from its shores. And the spirit of enquiry on the part of those who have not yet obeyed the gospel is every way encouraging. The congregations of the Saints are increasing, and our Halls and places of worship are becoming too inadequate for the swelling tide of inquirers. Well, then, ye Elders of Israel and Saints generally, roll on the work. As the warm season, favourable to out-door preaching, approaches, search diligently in every town and village, and ascertain who in it is worthy of eternal life. In the midst of wrath, God is showing mercy by inclining the ears of multitudes to hear the words of life and live. The places where the gospel has long been preached are reviving into new life.²⁹

During 1847, Spencer composed thirteen letters to the Reverend William Crompton of Boston, Massachusetts, explaining and underlining the important doctrines of the Mormons. Franklin listened to early versions of the letters and gave his opinion on them. These letters, which were first published in the *Star*, became important missionary tracts along with a previous letter.

Orson Spencer and his counselor soon became close friends. During the late evening of Wednesday, April 14, Spencer arrived at the mission office with Martha Knight, a Latter-day Saint woman from Manchester, and asked Franklin to seal them as husband and wife. Franklin described the event: "After a good chat and a drink of wine as well as some excellent cake, I sealed them husband and wife for time and all eternity according to the order of the celestial kingdom of God. The holy spirit was with us and we felt well and joyful. Sister Martha felt her happiness rather diminished by leaving all her Father's family and they in opposition to the truth, may she live and realize the blessings of the celestial kingdom even all that have this evening been conferred upon and see her Father's family accept of salvation at her hands."³⁰

The wedding brought memories to Franklin of his own family, and, in a nostalgic mood, he ordered a locket engraved with his initials and with locks of Jane's and

Wealthy's hair placed inside. He had earlier been instructed by Orson Hyde to purchase a suit of clothes for himself out of mission office funds, so in March 1847, he purchased two yards of blueback and two and one-half yards of cashmere to be tailored into a suit "which is the first of the kind and magnitude which I ever received."

Franklin's health was a constant concern to him, and he often complained of feeling feeble or unwell. On occasion he anointed and blessed himself. He tried numerous remedies, including a daily walk, soaking his feet in hot water, taking quinine and pepper tea, sipping brandy, being "administered to with great fervency," and washing regularly in cold water. Some of the cures may actually have kept him weak, such as the cold-water regimen. As missionaries become ill, their colleagues and church members took great care in nursing them back to health. During July 1847, Orson Spencer, who had been rather fragile and lame from childhood, became severely ill with "obstinate constipation," and Franklin gave him both physical and spiritual aid.³¹

For Franklin, missionary work and social life were intermingled. He enjoyed visiting both new and old members, and close relationships developed. In Liverpool, a Sister Robinson and her daughter Jane washed his clothes for him each week and frequently invited him to dinner. Parties, dinners, teas, and conference meetings with the Saints provided opportunities for fellowship as well as nourishment. Franklin reported on sumptuous meals of mutton or beef steak, potatoes, cabbage, parsnips, carrots, and apple pudding, as well as meals of stale and musty bread. He preached on Sundays as well as at weekday meetings, taught investigators at meetings and at the mission office, blessed the sick and gave other blessings as needed, counseled church leaders, and attended baptisms. And he took advantage of the Liverpool public bath with his colleagues, sang songs until late in the evening, and "had wine with the usual toasts." In October 1847 Robert Peel visited Liverpool, and Franklin wrote: "Today the notable Sir Robert Peel tipped his beaver to two of the sons of Zion with a multitude of less honorable men (L. O. L. [Lyman O. Littlefield] and myself). He looks about as grey as Sidney Rigdon did when last I saw him. He did not know he was doing his obeisance to a king but took the honor all to himself."³²

On March 24, 1847, the Saints in Liverpool joined with all of Great Britain in a national day of fasting and prayer in behalf of victims of the famine in Ireland and the thousands being fed by charity in Liverpool, and that evening Franklin preached a sermon to the Saints on the subject of fasting and prayer.

Traveling Throughout the Mission

For three weeks during the spring of 1847, Franklin toured the Wales and Bristol areas (April 16 to May 4), and for two months that fall (October 20 to December 14) he toured the South Conference, which included Bristol, Bath, and Trowbridge. Two days after returning to Liverpool from the latter tour, he went to Scotland, where he spent the last two weeks of December. His travels were supported by the Saints, which usually meant that he stayed and ate with them whenever possible. He traveled by rail, by ship, by coach, and by canal boat, and

seemed always to have money for transportation, but not always enough for food, so occasionally he went hungry.

On the spring visit to Wales and Bristol, he spoke at many meetings and reported that he felt the spirit in abundance. At a conference of Welsh Saints at Merthyr Tydfil, one thousand were in attendance, and he wrote that they may not have understood his words, but they understood his feelings. His duties included ordinations to the priesthood, giving blessings (with so many requests that he finally refused to bless any but the sick), giving advice and counsel on church government, and visiting with church members.³³

On the trip to Bristol and Bath in the fall, he encountered anti-Mormon literature and mob action. He described the areas as being "all in a crawl" about Mormonism, but missionary work was proceeding at a good pace. At Bath, he visited with William Pitman and investigated the purchase of phonographic type. His feet were often sore from long days of walking, including the journey from Ledbury across the Herefordshire Beacon to Worcester for a series of conference sessions. He experienced awe as he traveled through areas where earlier missionary work had been performed by apostles and his uncles Willard and Levi Richards. Those who traveled with him—Dan Jones in Wales, and Abraham Marchant, John Halliday, and T. B. H. Stenhouse in the south—became close as they talked and walked through the hills and towns, and through sunshine, rain, and mud.

Franklin introduced to the South Conference a missionary effort he called "Invitations, Letters, and Books." Although there were few members in Trowbridge, everyone, including the young sisters, was asked to help circulate *Spencer's Letters* and other tracts to the populace according to "the method of exchange." This method included calling for one piece of literature and leaving another. Franklin described the process: "The Baptist clergyman has read letter first, and made his notes and comments in marginal ink-lings, and returned the same safe. This practice of disseminating truth is so in fashion with the piety of the times, that it would require some moral courage to refuse such a pious offer from one of the innocent-looking creatures. . . . Sixteen have been baptized in this vicinity since my arrival."³⁴

By late fall, Franklin learned that he and some of his colleagues would be going home the following spring, so he decided to visit his brother and the Saints in Scotland. There were 2,085 members in Scotland, and he enjoyed preaching to and meeting with them. He found time to visit such places as Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood Abbey and to see a performance of *Hamlet*. The Scottish Saints, like the Saints in England, received him warmly and with generous gifts. They organized a farewell "soiree" at which John McLaws read a poem in his honor.

In early January 1848, Franklin and Samuel Richards and John Banks spent a week in London on some church business, with time also for sightseeing. They visited many historic sights, and while they were at the top of St. Paul's Cathedral, Franklin and Samuel blessed Banks that he would have a successful missionary effort in London.³⁵

Throughout Franklin's mission—from Scotland to England, and from rural areas to urban—the Saints supported him with material means. He often noted their generosity, though many were in humble circumstances. Much of the support

came in the form of "free will offerings" of money donated at church services or in visits at their homes. The generosity also extended to Jane, for Franklin often discussed his family with the church members.³⁶

Even more important to him than the material support, however, were the love and support the British Saints extended. Franklin was often lonely, and they lifted his spirits. The missionaries were highly respected and looked up to by the Saints. On one occasion Franklin was approached by a weeping Mary Ann Gratton, a thirty-year-old widow in Liverpool, who pleaded with him to take her son Edmund to Zion and to "bring him up as [his] own to be a good man."³⁷ The Grattons were poor and had no idea when they might gather to Zion.

On the return trip to Liverpool from London, Franklin stopped in Birmingham on January 13 at the residence of "Mother" Fox at 34 Cheapside, where he had spent many happy hours with Sister Fox and her daughters. Each member of the family treated him kindly, but Charlotte, who was nineteen, particularly so. On occasion, he said, she combed his hair "like Jane did." With great feeling Franklin described the evening:

As we were seated around the fire, all company having withdrawn, Mother Fox formally presented her oldest daughter Charlotte to me saying, I have had many blessings bestowed upon me of the Lord but of them all Charlotte has been the greatest. May she be a blessing to you both in time and in eternity. I felt that this was a gift of another order than what I had been so often wont to receive and I do not know how to feel thankful enough to God for giving me so great favor in the eyes of the just and making them to entertain such confidence in my integrity. I thanked her in the name of the Lord and told her I would try and not forfeit the confidence she had reposed in me. She replied she had the utmost confidence I would do right. I then asked Charlotte if her heart responded amen to all her mother had said. She replied it does. I then took her in my arms and gave her a kiss which she reciprocated.³⁸

Plural marriage was being taught quietly to certain English Saints by the missionaries.

In February, after a round of parties and farewells, Franklin left England on the *Carnatic* with Charlotte and some 120 other Mormons, bound for New Orleans. He presided over the company, assisted by Cyrus Wheelock and Andrew Cahoon, with Samuel Richards as the secretary. As Franklin meditated about his mission, he gauged his success in increased *Millennial Star* sales (from twenty-nine hundred in 1846 to four thousand in early 1848) and in an improvement in the quality of the publication, of which he had put out several issues on his own and assisted Spencer in the others. He viewed the status of Mormonism in Britain in October 1846 when he arrived as being in a "dark stupor," but noted sixteen months later that the work of the American elders had "resuscitated" the British Saints to greater activity and had stimulated more baptisms. He had preached the gathering with some success and prayed for more: "Oh Lord, make thy goodness to abound yet more and more unto this great and growing people that the good may all be gathered out."³⁹

Franklin described the two-month voyage to New Orleans in great detail, even though he was often seasick. At New Orleans he bribed the customs house officer, O. A. Kirkland, with a bottle of brandy in order to get the company through customs quickly and without paying duties. Franklin remarked, "I never before considered

the worth of a bottle of brandy." The company then set off up the Mississippi on the steamer *Mameluk*. When they reached St. Louis, they engaged the *Mustang* to carry them up the Missouri to Winter Quarters.

Following an absence of nearly two years, Franklin Richards arrived at Winter Quarters and found his wife Jane had moved across the river to Kanesville. He wrote about their initial meeting in the streets of Kanesville: "I did not know her til I came directly up to her and took her into my arms and kissed her. Yes, it was her as she looked and as she felt, solitary and alone, feeling bereft of her darling Wealthy after almost dying herself to take care of her."⁴⁰

Franklin, Jane, and Charlotte traveled to Utah during the summer of 1848. In 1849 he was appointed a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. His British mission had earned him great respect as an organizer, editor, and leader. His devotion to duty in the midst of family tragedy and personal illness gave him credibility as a missionary and as a leader to the Saints of both Great Britain and Zion.

NOTES

1. Franklin D. Richards diary, Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as Diary). Used by permission. Additional material on Richards can be found in Franklin L. West [a grandson of Richards], *Life of Franklin D. Richards* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1924); Andrew Jenson, *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1937); and V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, eds., *Truth will Prevail* (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1987).

2. By March 1846 the following individuals and their families had become associated with Richards under the law of adoption: Richard Clark, Horace Fish, William Clark, Thomas Peterson, Calvin Smith, and Philo T. Farnsworth. Adoption in Nauvoo was usually confined to church authorities and older men; Richards was an exception in both age and church status. He celebrated his twenty-fifth birthday on April 2, 1846, with members of his immediate and adopted family partaking of "bread and wine in the memory of the body and blood of Jesus Christ which was broken and spilt for us and also to witness therein the love and fellowship which we have to each other and offer a prayer in the appointed way and felt ourselves blessed and broke up in love and peace about midnight." Diary, April 2, 1846; also, December 13, 1845; March 7, March 15, and April 15, 1846. Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830-1900," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 3; D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 1.

3. Missionary work was not all proselyting, and on this and other missions Richards visited historical sites and read widely. While in the state of New York, he visited the Genesee Falls, "where Sam Patch has made an adventurous jump," traveled with some 400 Loco Focos to Oswego, and noted the ongoing "civil war" in Philadelphia between Native Americans and foreign immigrants.

4. The workers on the temple enjoyed each other's company, with melon busts; cake, raisin, and wine parties; and sometimes dancing to violin and flute music. Franklin varnished and oiled seats, swept, dusted—and expected payment for his work. In his diary, under date of April 30, 1846, he wrote: "I took certificates of Philo and my own labor and was very agreeably disappointed in being allowed \$1.50 per day for my own labor and \$1.25 per day for Philo's[,] making about \$140 that we had earned since the first day of March. Just at night Brother Van Cott at my insistance brought in a small bottle of brandy and loaf of sugar and each of the painters took a cheerful dram just as the bell rung to quit work and the room was now ready for dedication."

5. Diary, October 3, 1845. In July 1844 he wrote, "I thought of the high calling to which I have attained of High Priest unto the most high."

6. Diary, December 13, 1845. In commenting on their sealing, Franklin wrote, "Jane Snyder and myself were made husband and wife by the ordinances of the priesthood in the Lord's house by Heber C. Kimball and were also anointed king and queen, priest and priestess by Parley Pratt, Phineas Richards, and Lorenzo Snow." Diary, January 23, 1846.

7. Jane Snyder Richards, "Autobiography," original holograph at Bancroft Library; photocopy at the Utah State Historical Society, p. 19. At the time of the marriage, Elizabeth was sixteen, Franklin was twenty-four, and Jane was twenty-three.

8. Diary, May 11, 1846. Richards's missionary license, dated Nauvoo, May 6, 1846, read: "To the presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in England. Greeting. Brothers Hedlock and Ward, the bearer of this letter is our much esteemed and worthy brother Elder Franklin D. Richards who is also of the high priesthood. We have been directed by the President and the Council of the Twelve and the western camp of Israel to send him unto you as a fine and faithful laborer in the kingdom of our God to assist you in dispensing the word of life to the people of your country. He is instructed to labor under your direction and presidency. The private seal of the twelve having been taken west we are unable to affix it to this letter. We beseech you to receive this our worthy brother and render unto him every necessary facility that you may be able to in order that he may be a blessing to you, to the cause, and to himself and that he may answer the expectations of his brethren who sent him unto you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

A postscript to the letter noted "I do hereby certify that the foregoing letter is true and faithful" and was signed "Joseph Young, First President of the Seventies."

9. Diary, June 21, 1846.

10. Jane Snyder Richards interview, as quoted in Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 89.

11. Diary, August 28–September 4, 1846. Gifts for the brothers included two fine shirts, two dress stockings, two silk scarfs, twenty sheets of paper, pens and holders, two cakes of soap, three dollars in cash, one-half pound spice bitters, some cayenne pepper, one pound dried beef, one-half of a cheese, two sheets, two pillows and pillow cases, flannel for making undergarments, a jar of dried currants and cherries, and one "comfortable."

12. Diary, August 28–September 4, 1846. His poem to Mary E. Dewey read,

As again on this earth, we have met and do part
And tested the kindness of each others heart
May our love be unbroken without end around
As these four rings of hair on this paper are found.

While 1 on the earth am now called to roam,
In a land among strangers afar from my home
And you yet remain on your native spot
Accept this small memento and forget me not.

Susan Sanford Peirson was nearly fifteen years old during the late summer of 1846. She had been baptized a Mormon in 1840 and would become Franklin's fifth wife in 1853.

13. Diary, September 7 and 8, 1846. Gifts from the Boston Saints included thirty-five dollars, a trunk (the missionaries had been sharing one), a sheet, a "comfortable," a pair of pillow cases, some collars, a razor and strop each, and a neck handkerchief.

14. Diary, September 10, 1846. Franklin noted that the discussions between the Mormon elders and James Strang and his followers were heated. Adams, Richards said, told the Mormons that "he positively affirmed that he had been taught by an angel that James J. Strang was the prophet, seer, and revelator as appointed by God and the true prophet successor of Joseph Smith. Truly, thought I [Richards], your hands are strong til the day of redemption."

15. Diary, September 18, 1846.

16. Franklin's missionary dreams included appearances of his wife Jane, Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Willard Richards. His dreams were recorded in detail and with diligence, with an acknowledgment that they were sent to give him an understanding of the future as well as comfort for the present. He recorded one lengthy dream in England that included Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

17. Diary, October 14, 1846.

18. Victorian England was a major political and economic power in the world. In 1840, Great Britain had 18.5 million people; Ireland, 8 million; and the United States, 17 million. Queen Victoria

had made her first railroad journey in 1842, from Windsor to Paddington, London. The first public bath and wash houses were opened in Liverpool in 1844. British railroad mileage had expanded from 26 miles in 1828 to 2,236 miles in 1844. Severe famine, the result of the potato crop failure, swept over Ireland in 1846. The *Daily News*, the first popularly priced English newspaper, appeared in 1846 under the editorship of Charles Dickens. In 1847, the British Factory Act was passed, which restricted the working day to ten hours a day for women and for children between thirteen and eighteen years of age.

19. As well as visiting the Saints, attending meetings, and becoming acquainted with England, Richards and his companions spent much of their time talking with Elders Taylor, Hyde, and Pratt. Richards noted one evening that "Elders Taylor and Hyde prophesied and we were favored with some beer, apples, and raisins after the usual tea or supper." Diary, October 15, 1846.

20. Diary, October 22–23, 1846. Franklin West mentions such a story in his biography but is unable to pinpoint the date of stilling the storm by the power of the priesthood. Richards recorded the incident in his diary.

21. Plays that Franklin attended with his colleagues included *The King and the Freebooter*, *Smile and Tears*, *State's Secrets*, and *The Maniac Father*. One evening after attending a play with "brothers Pratt, Taylor, Samuel, and Watt in the second tier box," Richards and his companions went out on the town for refreshments, including "tea, oranges, raisins, sweet meats, wine, and three or four different sorts of cakes." Richards noted that while in Scotland he ate haggis and kale, had "crack" and raspberry wine, enjoyed excellent suppers, and celebrated holidays and marriages with the Saints. These activities are recorded in his diary, October 23, 1846, to January 1847.

22. Gifts from the Scottish Saints included money, much of which came in shillings, a new vest, a hat, a gilded Bible, cloth for shirts, a pair of cashmere pants, "an undergarment of white flannel ready made," and shawls for his wife.

23. Franklin was a conscientious letter writer, writing frequently to his wife, his family, and his missionary companions. Although he wrote often to Jane, she received few of the letters. In fact, he received far more letters from her than she did from him, even though he wrote consistently.

24. Franklin received Hyde's letter on January 6, 1847, and recorded it in his diary on that date. Hyde signed the letter "Your brother in Christ, Orson Hyde, President of the American Deputation."

25. *Millennial Star* 9 (January 15, 1847): 2.

26. Spencer's call to England had come shortly after his wife's death, during the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo. A Baptist minister prior to his conversion to Mormonism, Spencer left six children scattered among "the Camp" when he departed for England in 1846.

27. Diary, January 25, 1847. Strangely, in his correspondence and in his diary, Richards does not refer to his plural wife Elizabeth.

28. Richards's diary details his experiences at the Liverpool docks, including one on January 30, 1846, as Elders Taylor and Pratt were ready to leave for the United States. Richards noted that he helped them get their "things" on board the *America* and saw about taking some milk to them. He then boarded the ship to partake of lunch with them, with a "drink of wine," and "received their blessing and good wishes" and bestowed his blessing upon them in return.

29. *Millennial Star* 9 (May 1, 1847): 9. Cyrus H. Wheelock, one of Richards's missionary companions on the voyage to England, composed the missionary and gathering hymn, "Ye Elders of Israel."

30. Diary, April 14, 1847. Note also Diary, April 14 and May 23, 1847, on offering prayer in "robes of righteousness."

31. During his illness, Spencer was confined at Birkenhead, where Richards visited him almost daily. Richards was so concerned for Spencer on Tuesday, July 13, that he recorded his actions as follows: "After breakfast and finding a syringe, I returned to him and found the fever raging, still worse that no one had come to watch with him during the night. I set to and gave him a copious injection of warm water, sweet oil, salt, and sugar in it which he retained some time, ½ hour or so but did him very little good affording partial and temporary relief. Toward night I gave him another with castor oil." Through the rest of July Richards regularly administered the syringe, as well as "prescribing" castor oil and rhubarb to be taken by mouth.

32. Diary, October 15, 1847. Included in his diet were occasional dishes of cockles and Irish suppers of potatoes and milk. Whenever Richards ate with the Saints, they apparently served their very best offerings, including bottles of old blackberry wine.

33. On several occasions, Richards noted that his feet were washed by Mormon women who treated him with great love and respect, including kissing his feet after washing them. He had a tooth

extracted by a druggist and felt little pain, and later the same day blessed a woman who had a sore jaw.

34. *Millennial Star* 9 (December 1, 1847): 23.

35. Diary, January 5–January 13, 1848. The trio visited the British Museum, Madame Tussaud's wax works, the National Gallery of Art, St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the famous tunnel under the Thames, the wire suspension bridge over the Thames, the House of Commons, St. James Park, the Palace Royal, and the Bloody Tower at the Tower of London. Franklin frequently commented on sundry historical events related to his travels and almost always related them to the restoration of the gospel and to missionary work.

36. Although most often he received gifts in the form of money, Franklin received as well an accordian, a silver toothpick, books, notebooks, dinner knives and forks, pocket knives, a combined pocket knife and comb, pencils, pencil cases, ivory rulers, ever-pointed pens and pencils, vests, coats, boots, shoes, neck handkerchiefs, gloves, mufflers, stockings, shirts, cord pantaloons, flannel undergarments, a plaid outfit including a bonnet, watches and chains, a silver dog's head, razors, engraved knives, a gold ring, pins and needles, scissors, dinner plates, German silver teaspoons and tablespoons, and linen shirts. For Jane he received a small gold heart, a brooch, a cut-glass smelling bottle, a worsted shawl, a summer shawl, a silver thimble, an apron, a ring with a heart-shaped stone, shoes, dresses, skirts, and material to make clothing.

37. Diary, June 28, 1847. Franklin does not indicate whether or not he accepted this proffered gift.

38. Diary, January 13, 1848. Charlotte traveled to the United States with Franklin, but he rarely mentioned her in his otherwise rather meticulous diary. She traveled with him on the *Carnatic* to New Orleans, and became one of his plural wives in 1849 in Great Salt Lake City.

39. This information is found under a diary entry of January 13, 1848, but it appears to have been written sometime during the early part of February 1848.

40. Diary, May 9, 1848. The fare that Franklin negotiated for the company on the *Mameluk* was \$300.

Journal of Mormon History

The *Journal of Mormon History*, annual publication of the Mormon History Association, reflects the purposes of the Association: "to foster scholarly research and publication in the field of Mormon history."

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Synoptic Minutes of a Quarterly Conference of the Twelve Apostles: The Clawson and Lund Diaries of July 9-11, 1901

Stan Larson

In June 1829 Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer received a commandment (D&C 18) to choose "the twelve," presumably to be known as apostles. Nine months later, on April 6, 1830, the church was organized. At that time it was known simply as the Church of Christ,¹ and there were no apostles in the organization. On October 26, 1831, Cowdery and Whitmer again received instructions to choose, ordain, and send forth "the twelve."² The official organization of the twelve apostles in the Church of the Latter Day Saints dates from February 14, 1835. At that time all three Book of Mormon witnesses—now including Martin Harris—chose the men who would become the first group of Twelve Apostles. That day three were ordained: Lyman E. Johnson, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball. The next day six more were ordained: Orson Hyde, David W. Patten, Luke S. Johnson, William E. McLellin, John F. Boynton, and William Smith. On February 21 Parley P. Pratt was the tenth apostle to be ordained. Because they were on missions, the last two—Thomas B. Marsh and Orson Pratt—were not ordained until April 25 and April 26, respectively. The first Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was now filled.³

On February 27, 1835, Joseph Smith spoke to a number of the apostles and emphasized the importance of keeping the minutes of their meetings. He counseled them to have someone record each decision reached and emphasized the value

Stan Larson is a manuscripts processor at Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

of publishing the minutes, saying that "an item thus decided may appear, at the time, of little or no worth, but should it be published, and one of you lay hands on it after, you will find it of infinite worth, not only to your brethren, but it will be a feast to your own souls."⁴

The first meeting of the newly filled apostolic quorum was held on Tuesday, April 28, 1835. The minutes of this meeting provide a basis of comparison with the apostolic meetings in July of 1901, which are being presented in this paper. The minutes of that initial meeting are as follows:

The Twelve met this afternoon at the schoolroom, for the purpose of prayer and consultation. Elder David W. Patten opened the meeting by prayer.

Moved and carried, that when any member of the council wishes to speak, he shall arise and stand upon his feet.

Elder M'Lellin read the commandment given concerning the choosing of the Twelve [D&C 18:26-39], when it was voted that we each forgive one another every wrong that has existed among us, and that from henceforth each one of the Twelve love his brother as himself, in temporal as well as in spiritual things, always inquiring into each other's welfare.

Decided that the Twelve be ready and start on their mission from Elder Johnson's tavern on Monday, at two o'clock a.m., May 4th.

Elder Brigham Young then closed by prayer.

Orson Hyde
W. E. M'Lellin
Clerks⁵

The following Saturday, May 2, 1835, at a general council of the priesthood, Joseph Smith suggested that when the apostles met in council, they should "take their seats together according to age, the oldest to be seated at the head, and preside in the first council, the next oldest in the second, and so on until the youngest had presided; and then begin at the oldest again."⁶ This organizational procedure of allowing each apostle a chance to successively preside over the meetings indicates a real desire for apostolic equality. Another characteristic of the quorum in 1835 was that originally it functioned simply as a traveling high council to build up the kingdom of God in areas where no permanent stake had yet been organized.⁷

The Minutes of Rudger Clawson and Anthon H. Lund

Rudger Clawson (1857-1943) was born in Salt Lake City, a son of Hiram B. Clawson and Margaret Gay Judd. He married Florence Ann Dinwoodey in 1882 and Lydia Elizabeth Spencer in 1883. In 1884 he became the first polygamous Mormon to be convicted and imprisoned for violation of the Edmunds Law of 1882, and he subsequently served the longest continuous sentence of any Mormon "cohab" in the Utah Territorial Penitentiary—from November 3, 1884, to December 12, 1887. While in prison he became acquainted with Apostle Lorenzo Snow, and this led to his call as Box Elder Stake president on December 23, 1887, and to his being ordained an apostle on October 10, 1898. Rudger Clawson's nineteen diaries cover the first month of his imprisonment and the period 1887-1905. An important event in Clawson's life occurred on October 6, 1901, when he was sustained in general conference as second counselor in the First Presidency. However, President Lorenzo Snow died only four days later, and it was decided that the First Presidency would not be dissolved until after the funeral on October 13, 1901.⁸ Because of

the suddenness of Snow's death, Clawson was never formally ordained to the position. This earned Clawson the distinction of having served in the First Presidency for the shortest period of time. As president of the Quorum of the Twelve, he would be only a heartbeat away from office of president of the church for twenty-two years.

It is fortunate that the minutes were recorded by a person who by previous professional training was well qualified to do so. Clawson had taken a course in shorthand, and in 1877 he graduated from Scott-Browne College of Phonography in New York City. Extant examples of his shorthand are found in his first diary and in his love letters to his plural wife, Lydia, written while he was in prison for polygamy. Clawson used his shorthand skills while serving as official reporter for four published sermons delivered by apostles at Sunday meetings in the Salt Lake Tabernacle.⁹ Perhaps just as important as shorthand was the experience that he derived from his job as an abstracter from 1888 to 1891, which involved abstracting some eight thousand pages of county real estate records.

Anthony H. Lund (1844-1921) was born in Denmark, a son of Henry Lund and Anna Christina Anderson. He emigrated to Utah in 1862, and eight years later, in 1870, he married Sarah Ann Peterson. The forty-two volumes of his diaries cover the period from 1860 to 1921, with gaps of 1874-81 and 1886-89. His diaries are unusual in the fact that, while most of the text is in English, portions are written in the following: Pitman shorthand, Danish, French, German, Spanish, and Latin.

Lund became an apostle on October 7, 1889. His diaries start again the next year and continue until just before his death. Lund also served in the First Presidency—in fact, President Joseph F. Smith named him as a counselor instead of Clawson. He served as a counselor to President Smith from October 17, 1901, to November 23, 1918, and then as a counselor to Heber J. Grant until his (Lund's) death on March 2, 1921.

The Lund minutes compare favorably with those of Clawson, and presenting both sets of minutes provides an opportunity for a more balanced view of what happened and what was said at the meetings.

Council Meetings in the Temple

The dedicatory services of the Salt Lake Temple extended from April 6 to 24, 1893. The brethren held their first informal meeting on April 11, 1893, in the council room, and the first prayer was a blessing given to Moses Thatcher by Franklin D. Richards.¹⁰ By this time the pattern had developed for a weekly meeting of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Beginning on April 13, 1893, they met in the temple instead of the Gardo House (the Victorian mansion constructed by Brigham Young for his wife Amelia Folsom), where they had previously met. Most of the meetings were on Thursdays except for weeks when there were holidays or other special occasions; then they were moved to another day in the week or postponed until the next Thursday. For example, meetings were postponed because of the birthday anniversary of Brigham Young, the memorial services of President William McKinley, and commencement exercises at the Brigham Young Academy.

The place of the weekly temple meetings was the Apostles Room. Often on a Thursday the apostles would be in session with their own meeting when the First Presidency joined them. A few times they met in the First Presidency Room (see October 22, 1903, and July 7, 1904). On occasion the weekly meeting was held in the church president's office in the Beehive House. There were a number of reasons for the change in location: from Thursday to Tuesday due to Thanksgiving (November 27, 1900); the illness of the church president (December 27, 1900);¹¹ the absence of the First Presidency and the president of the Twelve (September 5, 1901);¹² the remodeling of the Apostles Room (December 24 and 31, 1902); and the Reed Smoot investigation (February 25 and March 3 and 10, 1904).

The number of general authorities in the weekly meetings varied from four to sixteen. The smallest meeting was on September 4, 1902, when only one member of the First Presidency (John R. Winder) and three apostles (George Teasdale, Rudger Clawson, and Reed Smoot) attended. On numerous occasions the entire First Presidency, all of the Twelve Apostles, and (after October 1901) the Patriarch to the Church were in attendance.

In addition to weekly council meetings, during this period there were special meetings exclusively for the apostles. These were inaugurated by Lorenzo Snow the evening of April 8, 1890, a year after he became president of the Twelve. He stated that the purpose of the meetings was "to meet together occasionally to talk over different matters and to unite our hearts and feelings together."¹³ The next day the apostles met "as a separate Quorum from the first Presidency" and "all spoke in turn confessing our sins and expressing our determination to live nearer the Lord in the future."¹⁴ During the rest of 1890 and the early part of 1891, these special meetings were usually held on the Tuesday and Wednesday before the regular Thursday meeting at irregular intervals—every month, every six or seven weeks, or every two months. Regular quarterly meetings of the apostles began with the sessions on April 1 and 2, 1891. From this point on, meetings were held in July, in October (before semiannual conference), in January, and again in April (before annual conference), with occasional slight adjustments in times and days.¹⁵

The importance of these meetings to the apostles themselves is indicated by the fact that those who lived away from Salt Lake City and did not attend the regular Thursday sessions (such as Marriner W. Merrill) would make special efforts to attend the quarterly meetings. In October 1903 John Henry Smith, the senior apostle present, stressed the importance of the meetings, declaring that the apostles "allow nothing to detain them except sickness and death in their families or a call from the Presidency."¹⁶

The Journal History is an important initial research tool into Mormon history, but the quarterly apostolic conferences are never summarized in that source, since its accounts are based on official council minutes when both the First Presidency and the apostles were in attendance. The quarterly meetings were strictly for the apostles, and no members of the First Presidency nor the clerk, George F. Gibbs, attended, though during the last session on Thursday the First Presidency would enter and they would all have their regular weekly meeting, followed by the

partaking of the sacrament. Evidently quarterly apostolic meetings are still being held for members of the Quorum of the Twelve.¹⁷

The Apostolic Conference in July 1901

The minutes kept by Rudger Clawson and Anthon H. Lund provide valuable insights into a critical period in Latter-day Saint history. Because of space limitations, the focus is on a single quarterly conference. The conferences from 1898 through 1904 were reviewed, and the one held on July 9, 10, and 11, 1901, was selected because both Clawson and Lund provide specific information on what each person said and because at this particular conference interesting topics were discussed that help one better understand this period of church history. Clawson indicates that when he typed the minutes, he inserted carbon paper and an extra sheet into his typewriter and sent the extra copy to Elder Francis M. Lyman, who was serving as president of the European Mission. In the letter to Lyman accompanying the copy of these minutes, Clawson summarized the meetings by saying, "We had a very enjoyable time at our conference."¹⁸

Since the question of the sale of beer at Saltair was one of the major topics during the three-day conference, it is necessary to review this subject. Saltair, a popular resort on the south shore of the Great Salt Lake, was owned by the church, and alcoholic beverages were sold to patrons there.¹⁹ This concerned church leaders, who were becoming increasingly conscious of the need for stronger emphasis on the Word of Wisdom. Nonmembers sometimes stirred up this consciousness, for on August 17, 1900, several Protestant ministers called on President Lorenzo Snow to try to convince him to stop allowing beer sales and games of chance at Saltair.²⁰ Heber J. Grant later expressed his feeling about the visit, saying that he was "humiliated to hear the ministers come in and plead with us to dispense with Whisker selling at Saltair."²¹

At this time the attitude and practice of some of the apostles in regard to the Word of Wisdom was quite liberal. For example, in September 1900, while on assignment to a Sanpete Stake conference at Mount Pleasant, Utah, Matthias F. Cowley and Anthon H. Lund visited the home of a Sister Nielsen and drank "some of her beer." Cowley, in fact, assessed its quality as "the best he had tasted."²² After their meetings the next day, they returned to Sister Nielsen's and were served beer and currant wine. Cowley humorously "promised to come and preach another good sermon to pay!"²³ One month later John W. Taylor said that if the apostles were united in not selling beer at Saltair, they could put a stop to the practice.²⁴ That December most of the apostles indicated their opposition to alcohol sales at Saltair, but President Lorenzo Snow dampened the proposal by saying, "When we deal with people outside the church as well as those inside, we have to be wise and get along the best we can."²⁵ At the quarterly conference of the apostles in January 1901, Heber J. Grant spoke out strongly against the selling of beer at Saltair, and John Henry Smith moved, and it was unanimously approved, that the apostles recommend to President Snow that no beer be sold there during the coming year.²⁶ Snow's response was again negative.

Six months later, at the July quarterly conference of the apostles (which is the focus of attention in this paper), the problem came up again. The seven apostles present on the first day of the conference discussed the matter informally and then unanimously passed a resolution opposing the sale of beer at Saltair. The apostles were painfully aware of the difficult situation they were in. Brigham Young Jr. explained that "Pres. Snow does not listen to the united voice of the Twelve in this matter, so we trust in God, but we all feel this is a great draw back in our labors among the people."²⁷

The next day they spoke in reverse order of seniority, with the newest apostle, Reed Smoot, beginning. He expressed concern that "the Word of Wisdom had not been taught" for some time in the Summit Stake and that it had been violated by many, from the former stake president, William W. Cluff, on down to the average member.²⁸ Matthias F. Cowley said that whiskey drinking was a great evil. Anthon H. Lund expressed a wish that Saltair would become the church's "temperance resort."²⁹ Marriner W. Merrill reported that a new saloon owner justified his behavior of opening up such a business by saying, "I can keep a saloon as well as President Snow at Saltair." Heber J. Grant spoke out strongly against the selling of beer: "I think liquor-selling is damnable. We are muzzled on account of the church being in the liquor business." George Teasdale, the final speaker, agreed; however, he confessed that "we used to have our tea and coffee and table beer; we dropped all this."³⁰

On the last day of the July conference, John Henry Smith said that the Word of Wisdom "gave the liberty to make mild drinks of barley," noting that perhaps an extreme interpretation had been made, and that a beer made naturally from malted barley, yeast, and hops was permitted. This caused Heber J. Grant to ask whether any beer that is intoxicating should be considered mild. John Henry Smith replied that German beer would not cause intoxication, though he conceded that American beer could cause drunkenness. Anthon H. Lund recorded that "the feeling of the brethren was that Danish Beer was not intoxicating." Brigham Young Jr. then expressed his personal preference, pointing out that "Danish beer is a blessing,"³¹ for it helped him feel comfortable and at ease, while water often upset his stomach.³² After Lorenzo Snow and Joseph F. Smith entered the meeting,³³ Heber J. Grant "talked against selling Beer at Saltair." However, President Snow's reaction to the proposal was again that "nothing could be done at the present in regard to that matter,"³⁴ though he conceded that if the brethren still felt the same a year later, he would then support positive action.

Lorenzo Snow died on October 10, 1901, and the Saltair saloon was closed in April 1902, when President Joseph F. Smith announced that beer would no longer be sold at the resort.³⁵ The church continued to prohibit the sale of beer in 1903, but due to the dramatic loss of revenue during these two years, the concession was leased to an LDS businessman and sale of beer was reinstated in 1904.³⁶ The church finally sold the resort in May 1906.³⁷

On October 5, 1904, Rudger Clawson recorded the following:

Pres. Smith said that he wanted to refer to a matter that had given him much concern—namely, the private journals of the brethren of the Council. Many things were written in them

which if they were to fall into the hands of the enemy might bring trouble upon the church. After the death of the brethren, you cannot tell what may become of their journals, and even now the brethren felt an anxiety in relation to Pres. Geo. Q. Cannon's journal, who made a pretty full account of everything that transpired in the Councils of the brethren; the same with Abram Cannon and others.³⁸

After supportive comments by John Henry Smith and John R. Winder, it was moved and carried unanimously that "the brethren should not write in their journals that which took place in the Council meetings." When Clawson sent his last set of minutes to Heber J. Grant, he remarked that "you will see by the 'leaves' of today that I am debarred from writing in my journal the doings of the Council, which of necessity debars me from sending you any further 'leaves.'"³⁹ Clawson and Lund, who were committed to doing as they were instructed, dutifully followed this directive. Consequently, from this point their previously full minutes are reduced to a brief mention of assignments or a terse summary.

Transcription of Clawson and Lund Minutes

This is the first time that an extended account of an apostolic meeting has been published that gives a synopsis of what each person said.⁴⁰ These minutes provide the reader with details of their deliberations and allow an observation of the inner workings of the Mormon hierarchy. To better understand the context of what was discussed and decided, the entire minutes for this three-day period are extracted. For this particular quarterly conference, the Journal History does not even record the entering of the First Presidency at the end of the third day; consequently, the only available sources are the diaries kept by the apostles.

The following provides a synoptic view of the minutes kept by Clawson and Lund for the apostolic quarterly conference held in the Salt Lake Temple on July 9-11, 1901.⁴¹

CLAWSON

Tuesday, July 9th, 1901

11 a.m. Quarterly Conference of the Twelve. I came in late on account of the other meeting.⁴² Present: B. Young,⁴³ Geo. Teasdale, H. J. Grant, A. H. Lund, A. O. Woodruff, R. Clawson, and Reed Smoot.

Some discussion was indulged in regarding Saltair, with reference particularly to the selling of beer at that resort. It was moved and carried that it be the sense of the meeting that the brethren of the Twelve are opposed to the selling of beer at Saltair.

Apostle Reed Smoot moved that it shall become the duty of the Twelve to instruct the presidents of stakes and through them, the bishops of wards, to interrogate young people who go to the Temple to get married, and ascertain, if possible, whether in any case they have committed themselves, and in such

LUND

10 o'clock went to the Temple. Only seven of the Apostles were present.

The meeting was resolved into an informal discussion. A vote was taken whereby we expressed that we were opposed to the sale of intoxicants at Saltair.

It was also agreed that we impress upon the Presidents of stakes and Bishops that before giving a recommend to young people to be married in the Temple they ask them whether they have kept themselves pure or not.

The Apostles absent were: F. M. Lyman

CLAWSON

event to deny them the privilege of going into [the] House of the Lord. Carried.

Benediction by Apostle H. J. Grant.

Wednesday, July 10th, 1901

10 a.m. Continuation of the Quarterly conference of the Twelve. Present: Apostles Brigham Young, John H. Smith, Geo. Teasdale, Heber J. Grant, Marriner W. Merrill, Anthon H. Lund, Matthias F. Cowley, Abraham O. Woodruff, Rudger Clawson, and Reed Smoot.

Song, "O my Father." Prayer by Rudger Clawson. Song, "Guide us, O Thou Great Jehovah."

Apostle Reed Smoot was the first speaker. Topics treated: Reported that the reorganization of the Summit stake was now complete with the exception of two wards. Conditions in that stake have been very bad. Almost a total disregard of the word of wisdom.

LUND

who is in England, John H. Smith who is in Colorado on Mexican Colonization business, John W. Taylor and M. F. Cowley who are on their way down from Canada, and Bro. M. W. Merrill who did not give any reason for his absence.

Bro. Brigham felt that he had been treated strangely by Bro. Merrill when he was sent up to Benson Stake to decide the place for the headquarters. Bro. Merrill had not met at all. When Bro. Young stated that the Presidency and Apostles had decided that Lewiston should be headquarters there was no opposing vote, but Bishop Hazen Merrill said he did not vote because he said there had been another vote taken by the Apostles. Bro. Young felt vexed at this and said: "Then some one has betrayed his trust; for what takes place at the Presidency's meeting & with the Apostles is not to be spoken outside. Now as there has been another vote taken I will state that this has been rescinded, all feeling that Lewiston would be the central place. Then Bishop Merrill said he was ready to vote with the rest." I was sorry that there should be any show of difference between us.

We dismissed at 12 o'clock.

Meeting of the Apostles.

At 10 a.m. Bros. Merrill and Cowley were with us in addition to those of yesterday.

143 sung with the Austrian Nat. tune. Prayer by Rudger Clawson. Then we Sang "Guide us."

Reed Smoot:

During the last three months I have been busy attending conferences. I am nearly through with the organization of the Summit Stake. I have found things which I had hardly found among Saints. Some have drifted far away from truth. The Word of Wisdom had not been taught in that Stake. From the President down it was violated. One ward could not be organized because men were not willing to promise that they would obey it. A missionary is expected home and then I think we will complete the Ward.

CLAWSON

There is a tendency among the young people of that Stake, also the Utah Stake, and perhaps with other stakes, to commit themselves before marriage, and this is a matter, he felt, that should have the special attention of the Twelve.

Had also noticed a tendency among our people to go in debt, notwithstanding the experience of recent years.

Was pleased with the great improvement in tithe-paying; regretted to learn that there were some brethren in the church who excused themselves from the observance of this law because they had sons in the missionary field to support.

[Rudger Clawson:]

I followed and said, in part, that I had just received a letter from Apostle Francis M. Lyman in which he advised that myself and other brethren should sign our given names in full, and also in referring to others, should give their names in full. I mentioned this matter, I said, because in my judgement it was an excellent and appropriate suggestion.

Said that I had greatly enjoyed my labors during the past three months, and in visiting the Stakes usually called the Presidency, High Council, and Bishopric of wards together in order to promote good fellowship and acquaintance, and lay before them any important items of instruction. Felt that great good

LUND

In Utah Stake I find that immorality shows itself by streaks. Kamas Ward has a number of unmarried people. The young people seem to want 8 or 10 years courtship. 5 years ago there was a wave of immorality passing over Utah Stake. Lehi as an example. I think our young people should be watched. Our amusements are left to them. They do not open their gatherings with prayer.

There is a tendency of the people to go in debt. There is an almost insane tendency of speculation. Clerks are stealing money to speculate in mining stock. We ought to warn the people not to go into debt. Some just getting out of debt are forgetting their hard lessons and going into debt. There is a legitimate way of going in debt, that is, if a man has security in himself, but when he has to borrow on security given by others then he should be on his guard.

I believe Tithing will draw the line sharper and sharper between us. Before I present a name to be sustained for a place in the Priesthood, I ask them whether they pay their Tithing and keep the Word of Wisdom, and also if they believe the Gospel. I found a man in Bingham who said he was a non-tithing payer because the Bishop was stealing the tithing, which I found true. In Summit Stake there was a notion that when a man had a son on mission his time was valuable enough to be reckoned as tithing. Everything looks propitious for the Church. I feel that the Church is growing and that we want to get out of debt, yet we must not stunt our institutions.

Rudger Clawson:—

I regret that all can not be present. We feel stronger when a full quorum is present. Bro. Lyman sent me a letter today—very interesting. He wants his name written Francis M. Lyman. He was pleased that Bro. Lund was appointed in his place. He felt well.

Since my last [report] I have attended the conferences and felt well. I find that it is a good thing to have a list of non-tithing payers with me and to use it in our priesthood meetings. I once thought there was a great deal of formality about preaching the word. I begin to discover there is a wonderful power

CLAWSON

comes from preaching the word, as witness the increase in tithes and offerings.

Pointed out the necessity of selecting the best and strongest men for presiding positions—especially with reference to Presidents of stakes; a good, strong, active, progressive president will be more likely to select strong men for associates than a weak president would do. At all events, it seemed to me to be about the most important question we have to face in the strengthening of Zion.

Abraham O. Woodruff:

Topics treated: Had been called to organize the Big Horn Stake, and had also assisted in the organization of the Union Stake, Oregon, and the reorganization of the Presidency of the St. George Stake. These labors he had enjoyed. A good deal of his time was taken up in the colonization of the Big Horn Stake, and he was now about to leave for that part of the country.

LUND

in preaching the word. There has been a great deal of improvement brought about by the preaching of the Gospel, as instanced in Tithing from eight hundred thousand to thirteen hundred thousand dollars.

I believe [that] in placing bishops and presiding men we must get the strongest men, otherwise there will be retrograding. Granite Stake has a most energetic man and his brethren feel like him. He wants that kind of men to be with him. It is the most important matter to get the right man in the right place. How good to have live and energetic bishops! What a deplorable state we found in the Summit Stake.

I desire to make my self worthy of your confidence. I find it is a constant struggle with me to keep myself straight. Like Paul [Jesus] said: The Spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak [Matthew 26:41]. I think it is good for the brethren to open their hearts to one another that we may be one or we are not the Lord's. I do esteem these meetings. I was living in Brigham and there were many advantages living there, but Prest. Snow said: "My advice is to you to move to Salt Lake. Because when you are not out in the stakes you can be at home and easily reached. You will find by and by that it will be for your best good." I never miss an opportunity to be present with this body of men. I feel blessed to be here. Our songs right here build me up more than singing any where else. I believe it is the spirit of song that instructs and becomes a prayer. West Jordan. Said at West Jordan they had a fine choir but it lacked the spirit. The man in lead was one who had no faith in what he sang.

A. O. Woodruff:

Rejoiced that our meeting time had come again. I have enjoyed my labors among the Stakes. The Lord has blessed me in my labors. I have tried to be humble, and I believe that the more we submit to the will of the Lord, the better we succeed. I have had to give a good deal of attention to the work in the Big Horn country. I hope the people there have saved means from Rail road work to prosecute the canal work. I was sorry to learn that there was a wave of immorality sweeping over several places. I suppose the close proximity to resorts is the cause.

CLAWSON

Was not quite clear in his mind as to the status of those who (like Gov. Wells⁵⁵) have been sealed in the Temple and afterwards were married by the law of the land. He looked upon them, however, as covenant breakers. The work of God first and foremost with him.

Matthias F. Cowley:

Topics treated: Spoke of his recent visit to Canada, and said that we have ten wards in the Alberta Stake, and are without a single L. D. Saint teacher in the district schools, which arises from the fact that our teachers cannot pass the technical examination to which they are subjected. Felt that it would be wisdom for the church to call missionaries to attend the Canadian institutions of learning, and qualify themselves for teachers.

Read a communication from Sterling Williams,⁴⁶ endorsed by the Presidency of the Alberta Stake, setting forth the importance of making such [a] call, and which would be submitted to the Presidency of the Church.

LUND

I am not clear upon the laxity in regard to keeping covenants sacred that have been made in the Temple. For instance: Governor Wells married an outside woman. Is he in a position to partake of the Sacrament? Has he not forfeited his wives already sealed to him? I feel he has. People say, If men are in high standing, then such things are pardoned, but if poor people they are dealt with. This course kills faith. We have promised to only have those given us by the Lord. This looks peculiar to me. I know the Gospel is true and when I can not understand what is going on, I do not allow it to affect my faith. I want to live so that when I meet my father I can do so without being ashamed.

I have felt much chagrined to see our President B. Young stand on Street corners and has to take the cars, and then see Bro. Preston and his sons-in-law ride in Church teams. I think he is more worthy than they. (John Henry Smith came in.) Incidents mentioned of the Bishop slighting Bro. Young.

I thank the Lord every day of my life to be worthy to be among you. I hope I shall never want to excuse my self from doing my duty. I feel to pray for Bro. Lyman who is on a mission. Bp. Preston had promised to let Bro. Lyman's son have the privilege of being taken out in a Church team by Dr. Seymour B. Young. This I think was a shame.

M. F. Cowley:

I feel well to meet with you. I have just arrived from Canada. I rejoice in my labors in the Priesthood. I fully endorse the remarks I have heard. I have never been in Canada before. Bro. Taylor sends his excuse for not being here. We have 10 wards there, but we have no Teacher in any schools. Our young men have not been able to pass his certificate. Bro. Taylor suggested that some [of] our young men be called to go to some Canadian institution so that we can get our men into the schools, for the teachers there are against us.

He read a letter from Sterling Williams in regard to this subject. 16 districts in the stake and no teacher. The letter gives qualifications necessary. There is a newspaper there but it is edited by the outsiders. Now it would be well for some good writer to be sent up there. They have no doctor; sometimes they have to send to Lethbridge for one.

CLAWSON

One of the greatest evils prevailing in Cardston today is whiskey drinking, and Apostle Jno. W. Taylor is making an effort to get prohibition laws for that district of country.

Recommended that the Elders be withdrawn from Butte and Anaconda, Montana, as there is a total lack of interest in the gospel, and no spirit of investigation on the part of the people in those places.

Minutes read and approved.

Benediction by Apostle Reed Smoot.

2 p.m. Continuation of conference.

Song, "Come, all ye sons of God." Prayer by Apostle Jno. H. Smith. Song, "Be it my only wisdom here."

Apostle Anthon H. Lund:

Topics treated: Had enjoyed the meetings thus far. Felt some concern relative to Saltair; had hoped we would be able to say of that place, we have in the church a temperance resort. By reason of the present situation the mouths of the Twelve were practically closed in relation to some evils.

Spoke of the advantages arising out of the church school system, that could not be enjoyed in gentile schools. The great feature of the church schools was Theology, which in his estimation was of more importance by far than all other studies combined.

Spoke of the evil of marriage outside of the Temple, in cases where the parties had been previously sealed over the altar. In re-

LUND

I have never known anything about Cardston except they enjoyed the spiritual gifts, tongues, etc. but I learned that Cardston can drink five times as much whiskey as they can in Pocatello, that has three thousand people. On Dominion day, July 1st, they sold 1300 dollars [of] whiskey, in three days 3700 dollars. The Saloon was crowded like our Tabernacle on conference day. The brethren are powerless but Bro. J. W. Taylor is trying to get the people to petition for local option so that they can get prohibition. Mentioned some parties who are trying to go into that low business. One of them said his reason for not sticking to plumbing biz. was that the Church would not pay David James for plumbing at Saltair. His name is Daniel Spencer and the other is a Stoddard. I fear there is a time coming when we will have more trouble there. Stock men are coming in. The rough element will have whiskey.

The examination to get a certificate as teacher is very rigid. None have been able to take it.

I have visited Butte twice and I do not think the missionaries are doing anything. It costs them about three hundred dollars a year, and all they do is to look after the Saints. It is the same at Anaconda.

Closed by prayer by R. Smoot.

2 P.M.

Hymn 180. Prayer by J. H. Smith. Hymn on 86.⁴⁷

A. H. Lund:

Spoke upon the school question.

Marrying out of the Temple after having been endowed. Touched upon the amusements of the people.

CLAWSON

ferring to certain conditions that exist among us said that at times it seems that a wave of immorality sweeps over Zion. In a certain ward in Sanpete Stake, sometime ago, the bishop informed him that out of 12 marriages during a period of six months, 7 were forced. Sufficient attention is not given to our young people in their amusements. Bishops should mingle with their young in the dance.

Apostle Marriner W. Merrill:

Topics treated: Referred to the Logan Temple, and said it was in need of quite extensive repairs. The expense had been apportioned to the stakes in that district under the approval of the First Presidency.

Said he had come across several cases in the temple where young people had committed themselves.

Personally he was opposed to the selling of liquor at Saltair, and did not approve of marriages outside of the House of God, but had to get along with these things the best he could.

Apostle Heber J. Grant:

Topics treated: Said he would leave for Japan⁴ reasonably free from financial anxiety. The obligations resting upon him would be carried by Zion's Savings Bank.

LUND

M. W. Merrill:

The reason he was not here yesterday was that the Temple Associations meeting came off yesterday. Our Temple matters was laid before Prest. Snow. We need a great deal of means to make the Temple secure. The roof was leaking for years and the water has run into the house and spoiled the cornice in the large room. We have now got the roof secure and we feel that we ought to do something in that direction. We are going to distribute the cost among the different stakes belonging to that Temple district. I feel the House of the Lord should be kept in a good condition and that order should be kept strictly.

I have in cases of doubt called the couple into my room and asked them pointedly whether they are pure or not. If the Apostles are laying these principles before the people, it will have more weight with the people than if any one else should do so.

We have a new saloon opened, and the saloon-keeper gives his excuse: I can keep a saloon as well as President Snow at Saltair. Likewise marriages such as Bro. Heber M. Wells's have a bad effect upon the people.

I know this work is of God and whatever may happen He will take care of it. My desire is that we may [be] in Harmony with those over us. It will not be long before we will have done our work, even though some of the members are young.

"Glory to God on high" was sung.

H. J. Grant:

I did not expect this privilege when we last met. In arranging my affairs everything has been coming my way. I have some debt, but the reason is I do not like to get rid of my securities, but I have the promise of the Saving's Bank to carry me. I consider the men with whom I am associated to go to Japan are fine men.

CLAWSON

Spoke strongly against the selling of liquor at Saltair, and so long as it is done, felt, he said, that we were responsible in a great measure for the wave of immorality sweeping over Zion. Thought it a serious question.

Spoke of the church schools and felt that they ought not to be curtailed in church appropriations. So long as the church schools are able to turn out such men as J. M. Tanner,⁴⁹ Henry S. Tanner,⁵⁰ and Stephen L. Chipman,⁵¹ son of an apostate, they should have our undivided support.

Felt and suggested that upon the morrow before we break our fast, we should unite in praying for the restoration of Brother Francis M. Lyman, Jr.⁵² Adopted.

Apostle Geo. Teasdale:

Topics treated: Felt aggrieved in his mind that we have to talk sometimes as we do. Pres. Snow is our file leader, and we do not always know the ins and outs of every question, or the motives that prompt him, but this we do know that, as a quorum, we were opposed to the selling of liquor at Saltair; but there is an evil practiced at Saltair almost if not as great as liquor, and that is the indiscriminate association of the sexes in bathing.

Our business is to preach the gospel, and when we get people into the church, to keep them there. We must be united in all things.

LUND

I think liquor-selling is damnable. We are muzzled on account of the Church being in the liquor business. Bud Whitney is awfully tempted about Whiskey selling.

I am also in favor of keeping our schools up. How many men have not been saved through the influence of our Church Schools.

I was humiliated to hear the ministers come in and plead with us to dispense with Whiskey Selling at Saltair. Saw a lot of young men and girls come up from Calder's Park. They hugged one another and they were a tough lot. Building New Building incurs the criticism of those who can not get a hundred dollars to build a meeting-house.

I think we ought to fast for Bro. F. M. Lyman, Jr., tomorrow. He is [in] a bad condition & is trying to commit suicide. I think he could not be better treated than at our asylum.

(Prest. Snow has counselled that he be sent there, so said B. Young.)

George Teasdale:

I feel a little grieved that we have had to talk about things as we have. It would be my mind that no liquor be sold, but to my mind it is a 1000 times worse to see the promiscuous bathing of men and women. We used to have our tea and coffee and table beer; we dropped all this. People almost thought we were demented in not drinking anything but water. Is not our mission to save souls? What have we to do with the Saltair? Was not the object of building it to make a pure resort?

(Bro. Young said Prest. Cannon said that there should not be any liquor sold there, but before it was completed they commenced selling liquor.)

The fight is going to be between Christ and anti-Christ. There is a large Catholic Church going up on S. Temple Street. There will be a dedication. Des. News is giving us details of their doings. The Lord wants us to forward his righteousness and keep his commandments and keep ourselves as members of his Church. We have got to be united. It would be disastrous for us to have a split in our midst. Repeated "In our lovely Deseret." Showed how he had taught the children these things.

CLAWSON

An adjournment was taken until 10 a.m. tomorrow. Benediction by Apostle Brigham Young. He prayed that in forming our judgement in all matters relating to the interests of Zion, God would direct by his Spirit.

July 11th, 1901

10 a.m. Continuation of Quarterly conference of [the] Twelve. Present: Apostles Brigham Young, Jno. H. Smith, Geo. Teasdale, Marriner W. Merrill, Matthias F. Cowley, Abraham O. Woodruff, Rudger Clawson, and Reed Smoot, and Heber J. Grant [and Anthon H. Lund].⁵³

Song, "See how the morning sun." Prayer by Geo. Teasdale. Song, "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire."

Apostle Jno. H. Smith was the first speaker. Topics treated: Regretted his absence from the first day's meetings, but rejoiced in the spirit of yesterday's gatherings.

Spoke of his recent visit to Mexico, and said that it was prompted by a change in the minister of the Interior.⁵⁴ The question had been agitated as to whether the "Mormons" should not be asked to withdraw from Mexico by reason of a report to the effect that they were not living up to the agreements

LUND

Spoke about the lecherous practices among the young. Those who have fallen has been because of the temptations at Calder's etc. I am not in sympathy with these places. We must not sit in judgement on Prest. Snow. When a young man was the cause of a young woman's death, the bishop was asked why he did not take up the case. He asked: "Where will it end? There being so many cases." I feel a little discouraged in seeing things that are existing. Look at Summit Stake. In some families there is no prayer.

I look upon the Word of Wisdom that it is to take nothing into our system that will hurt us. I do not take pork because it does not agree with me. I was sick six months ago. I asked the Lord to heal me and I would testify to his Goodness. He healed me. I felt it through out my body. If we go into the circle tomorrow and pray for Bro. Lyman, He will hear us. We can afford to be kind to one another and to practice righteousness.

Bro. Brigham Young closed by prayer. Meeting was adjourned till 10 a.m. to come fasting and to pray for Bro. F. M. Lyman, Jr., who has been sent to the Asylum.

Meeting in Temple
10 o'clock a.m.

Singing, "See how the morning sun." Prayer by George Teasdale, who pleaded earnestly for the restoration of F. M. Lyman, Jr. Singing, "Prayer is the Soul's sincere," one verse, and then "Praise to the man who."

J.H. Smith:

Regretted his absence the first day but could not get back in time.

He had visited the conferences since last meetings. He had also been in Mexico. The minister of interior had always been friendly, but getting old. A young man who was not acquainted with us was told that the Mormons did [had] not fulfilled their obligation and he wrote to Tony Ivins this and the ques-

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and conditions imposed upon them. In an interview with the minister it was clearly shown that our people had lived up to their obligations. He replied that he was satisfied with our representation and said: "Gentlemen, you need have no concern relative to this matter in the future."

We also met the Minister of Finance⁵⁵ and was well received by him.

The interview with Pres. Diaz⁵⁶ was very pleasing and satisfactory, and he gave assurance of his friendship for the Latter-day Saints. Was pleased, he said, with the spirit of the Indians he met in that land.

Had devoted considerable thought during the night to the question of selling beer at Saltair, and wondered if we were not inclined to take rather an extreme view of the case — whether, if we cut off the privilege entirely, we were not to some extent invading the rights of the Latter-day Saints. The revelation on the Word of Wisdom speaks of barley for mild drinks [D&C 89:17]. It is a question that demands serious thought. Have we taken an extreme view of the word of God? Where can we strike the limit, where can we reach the spirit of the Word of Wisdom? (Apostle Heber J. Grant asked Apostle Smith if beer that is intoxicating is to be considered a mild drink. The revelation, he said, forbids the use of strong drink.) Apostle Smith continued and said that the German beer was very light and mild and would not intoxicate, though he conceded that the beer of the United States is of a very different character and will cause drunkenness.

Apostle Brigham Young:

Topics treated: Said that he believed the temperance movement among our people a

LUND

tion arose if they should not forbid the Mormons to come in and ask those here to move back. We went and visited the minister. He was not a broadminded man, but we showed him that we had done our duty and met all obligations. He seemed to feel better toward us. The loyalty of our people and our settling only in the north was discussed. He wanted us to be less exclusive. "You will not sell lands to any one except your own people." We told him that some Mexicans lived with us, and attended our schools. He said: You need not borrow any trouble about this matter. If any trouble arises, you shall be informed.

We found the minister of finance a very able man. Being French he is not popular. He welcomed us to the country and said: "I knew all about you."

Our lawyer had felt afraid and a little down about our affairs, but when he saw how heartily President Diaz received us, he took courage. The President was very hearty and expressed his pleasure in seeing us. He is partly Indian, and an able man. I was pleased with the spirit of the people I met. Diaz was genial, warm-hearted, and very courteous towards us.

I went to Colorado and attended the meeting of the Board of the Mexican Colonization.

The question of selling beer at Saltair is one I have given much attention. I wonder if we are not extreme in our views concerning beer. The Word of Wisdom gave the liberty to make mild drinks of barley. We have strong views, but, perhaps, Prest. Snow has found us a little strenuous and does not wish to infringe on natural liberties of man. I can not believe it is stupidity which has actuated a man of God like Bro. Snow. I want to stand by my chief. There has been some trouble in his family matters, but we only know one side. He is determined to get the Church out of debt and we feel to sustain him. I believe the beers used in America are intoxicating. The question is: "Where is the mean line to follow." The feeling of the brethren was that Danish Beer was not detrimental.

B. Young:

Some men have found fault on the other side and thought Bro. Lyman has been so

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proper movement. If we give an inch, the people and the world will take advantage of it—and drunkenness is the crying evil of the age. The Word of Wisdom! “Who can cut it off and patch it on for me?” Each must be judge for himself. Many times water, he said, would distress him, while a little Danish beer would bring a feeling of comfort and ease. However, he believed in the Word of Wisdom as we teach it. As to the matter of selling liquor, said that he was simply disgusted with what he saw at Saltair on the occasion of the “old folks” excursion. He came across a lot of old men—members of the church—smoking old pipes and guzzling beer.

He further remarked that there was one man he felt to trust implicitly, as the Lord trusts him, and that man is the President of the Church. We must look to him. Was certain the Lord would bring good out of what appeared to be an evil. We ought to be the leaders in everything that is praiseworthy, good, and pure, but it is not always so. I am one with my brethren.

If we want a change in some things, we must have faith to effect it.

My privilege is to sustain the man God has chosen and not to straighten him. We have a right to pray for him. With all our talk, we are bound to sustain our file leaders, and if things are not just right, we must exercise faith to effect a change.

11 a.m. Presidents Lorenzo Snow and Joseph F. Smith came in.

Pres. Joseph F. Smith led in a special prayer offered up for and in behalf of Francis M. Lyman, Jr.

Apostle Heber J. Grant, at this point, spoke briefly and said, in part, that the question of selling beer at Saltair had come up for dis-

LUND

straight on the matter that he leans backward. “Well,” said I, “when a man has to pull against others, he must lean back to pull well.” We must work hard against the tendency to break it. For me Danish beer is a blessing. I can not drink a glass of cold water without having it lay heavy on my stomach. I shall be so glad when we can get rid of liquor selling at Saltair. I have been so disgusted to see so much beer-guzzling going on at Saltair.

If I shall keep that humility which is necessary for me, I have a hard task; it is one of the greatest tasks I have to keep myself right before the Lord. I can not steady the ark. There is one man that has my implicit faith and trust. The Lord has chosen him, and I trust him as the Lord trusts him. I believe we all feel that way. I felt humiliated that ministers of other churches plead with us to keep Saltair a respectable [place]. I believe, however, they did so to gain a point. The latter-day Saints should be the leaders in all that is good and pure.

I have sons and daughters who do not live their religion. I have labored with them earnestly, and gave us some examples. I believe these trials are given for good. Our children are born with rights and they can not throw them away only with transgression. Some time they will come back.

The best way if we have a bishop who does not suit us is to pray for him. If we feel hampered, let us seek to get more of the Spirit.

I know that this quorum will sustain the Presidency. We do not want to be over-religious, I want to be just as near right as possible. I have but one [desire].

The Presidency came in.

Prayer by Prest. Jos. F. Smith.

Bro. Grant brought up the questions of selling beer at Saltair. The young men feel deeply on this question.

CLAWSON

cussion in the Meeting of the General Board of the Y.M.M.I.A. yesterday, and was brought to the Board by Elder Frank Y. Taylor³⁷ who had arranged for an excursion to the Lake for the Granite Stake, and he was opposed to the sale of beer on that occasion. He felt, and in fact all the members of the Board seemed to feel, that this practice was bringing reproach upon the church.

Apostle Grant was authorized and instructed to bring the matter to the attention of the Presidency and Twelve. He felt, he said, if we could buy up the contract or liquor privilege that had been already let, and close up the business of selling beer at Saltair, it would be the finest kind of an investment.

[Lorenzo Snow:]

Pres. Snow, in reply, referred to the visit of the gentile ministers, sometime ago. He asked them if they had seen or knew of any disorder at Saltair. They answered, no, but they had heard some things. They wanted a promise from us to close the bar. We would make no promise. However, we concluded at the beginning of the season that we would close the bar against whiskey, brandy, and other kindred drinks—and also that no drinks should be sold on Sunday. We did not think it wise to shut down on everything at once. If at the beginning of another season, his brethren wanted the discontinuance of beer selling at Saltair, he would be the first to vote for it, but it could not be done now.

Some of the young men of the Mutual Association, he said, had called upon him, and objected to the selling of beer on "Granite day." He asked them if they thought the young men and women who had been taught the word of wisdom would drink beer out there. They answered that they did not know. The suggestion was then made that they let the matter go and watch for results by way of experiment.

Referred to the Word of Wisdom and said that it was given for the benefit of the church—so far as the saints could receive it. There were many things connected with it—the eating of meat was forbidden, except in times of excessive cold or famine [D&C 89:12-13]. This feature of the revelation was almost wholly disregarded. Thought, sometimes, the Elders were perhaps a little too

LUND

Prest. Snow:

We might have asked Y.M.M.I.A. but we did not. He then told about the ministers calling and how they could not tell anything definitely. Then he said that brandy and whiskey has not been sold. We do not want to do anything but what is right, but we propose to do it as we think best. Another year I shall be as quick as any one to let there be no beer sold.

CLAWSON

exacting in regard to the Word of Wisdom, but nevertheless was pleased that it should be taught [to] the saints. Was impressed with the idea that in some things, at times, the young men of the M.I.A. were disposed to be over-righteous in their views and feelings.

The tables were set and the Sacrament, as upon former occasions, was partaken of. Apostle Jno. H. Smith blessed the bread and wine.

While at the table Pres. Snow made some remarks relative to the "Manifesto."⁵⁸ Said that it was one of the greatest sacrifices ever required of the church, but he knew that it was from God. And the door is effectually closed by the action of the authorities and the saints in conference assembled. Some of the brethren are worrying about the matter, and feel that they ought to have other wives. Brethren, do not worry; you will lose nothing. Turning to Heber, he said, "There is brother Heber J. Grant, who is without a son, and who consequently feels anxious about it. I want to say to Brother Grant that he will have sons and daughters, and his posterity shall become as numerous as the sands upon the seashore or the stars in heaven—the promise made to Abraham is his through faithfulness. Brethren, don't worry about these things, and if you don't happen to secure the means you would like, don't feel disappointed. The Lord will make you rich in due time, and if you are faithful you will become Gods in eternity."⁵⁹ This I know to be the truth."

Benediction by Apostle Brigham Young.

LUND

We had Sacrament together.

Then meeting was adjourned until Oct. 1st.

By the very nature of the case, attendance at a meeting of the Mormon apostles is limited to the small number of men elevated to that ecclesiastical position. To their credit, it can be said that both Clawson and Lund provided rather complete coverage of the meetings they attended. Rudger Clawson himself was very aware of the fact that others would eventually read what he wrote in his diaries. At times he even addressed his unseen reader: "It might be of interest to the reader to state that . . ." and "In order that the reader may have a clear idea . . ."⁶⁰ Clawson does not record in his diary anything that he personally felt was inappropriate or that he did not want his future reader to know.

The only more authoritative record of their meetings is the official council minutes, but access to these minutes in the church archives is completely restricted

and will probably remain so in the foreseeable future. They are some of the most carefully guarded material in the archives, being kept in the vault of the First Presidency. Publication of the minutes for the July 1901 quarterly conference of the apostles provides us an opportunity to look into a previously inaccessible area. Since these minutes are of meetings held over eighty-seven years ago and in which none of the participants is alive, there is justification for providing this glimpse into what occurred among the apostles in their temple meetings. The minutes throw considerable light on this critical transitional period of church history. They are a gold mine of historical information and provide details of interest to the general reader and the serious researcher.

NOTES

1. In May 1834 the official name was changed to "the church of the Latter Day Saints." *The Evening and the Morning Star* 2 (May 1834): 158, 160, in original printing. By August 1835, in a reference to a February 17, 1834, meeting, the name of the church of Christ had been conflated with the later name to produce the form "the church of Christ of Latter Day Saints." *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints* (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams and Co., 1835), Heading to Section 5, p. 95. The present name, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," is a further modification made in 1838. *The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 115:3-4.

2. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 26.

3. Reed C. Durham Jr. and Steven H. Heath, *Succession in the Church* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), 95, 99, show that for ten months after the death of John Taylor, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles actually led the church, with thirteen apostles in its quorum.

4. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1948), 2:199. Hereafter cited as HC.

5. HC 2:219.

6. HC 2:219. Wilburn D. Talbot, *The Acts of the Modern Apostles* (Salt Lake City: Randall Book Co., 1985), 18, in quoting this passage omits the last twelve words, which technique eliminates reference to apostolic equality in presiding. Seniority by age meant that the first ordained apostle, Lyman E. Johnson, was placed in twelfth position, and the second to last ordained apostle, Thomas B. Marsh, was placed at the head position.

7. D. Michael Quinn, "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 28.

8. Rudger Clawson, Diary, October 11, 1901, located at the Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. This valuable acquisition was purchased by the Marriott Library from the Lydia Clawson Hoopes estate in 1983.

9. *Journal of Discourses* 19 (1877): 76, 98, 104, 107. The sermons were by John Taylor on July 29, 1877; Erastus Snow on September 9, 1877; and George Q. Cannon on September 16 and 23, 1877.

10. Edward L. Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Summer 1985): 77.

11. Brigham Young Jr., Diary, December 27, 1900, explains that President Snow was "too ill to go out. Met in office." A microfilm of this diary, covering October 1900 to July 1902, is located at the Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, with the original at the New York Public Library, New York City.

12. Lund explains that because President Snow was "out at Salt" (evidently meaning Saltair), no meeting was held in the temple that day. See Anthon H. Lund, Diary, September 5, 1901, photocopy

in the possession of Jennifer Lund, with the original located at the Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereafter cited as LDS Archives.

13. Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, April 8, 1890, photocopy at the Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, with the original at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

14. John Henry Smith, Diary, April 9, 1890, photocopy at the Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

15. For example, on October 3, 1900, a shorter morning session was held to allow for attendance at the funeral of Dr. John R. Park, and for three consecutive years they canceled an afternoon session in order to attend the Utah State Fair. Clawson, Diary, October 2-3, 1900, October 1, 1901, and September 30, 1902.

16. Clawson, Diary, October 1, 1903.

17. On January 15, 1962, Spencer W. Kimball described the apostolic quarterly conference as "a quarterly testimony meeting." See "Remarks on Testimony at the Berlin Conference," *The Berlin Spirit*, January 1962, published by the Berlin Mission, quoted in Margaret Hoopes, "Community and Communing: The Power of Testimony Meeting," *Ensign* 8 (January 1978): 50-51.

18. Clawson, Diary, July 11, 1901.

19. The church owned both Saltair and Reed Smoot's drugstore, both of which sold liquor. Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 241.

20. The Journal History, August 17, 1900, reports that the Reverend William M. Paden, a Reverend Irish, and a Mr. Henry wanted to know "if the 'Mormon' Church could afford to let the statement go into print and be published abroad that President Snow, as its Trustee-in-Trust, was responsible for a saloon being carried on at the Saltair pavilion." For a biography of William M. Paden (1854-1931), see Paul J. Baird, *The Mystery of Ministry in the Great Basin* (Globe, Arizona: Pabco Printers, 1978).

21. Lund, Diary, July 10, 1901.

22. Lund, Diary, September 1, 1900.

23. Lund, Diary, September 2, 1900. Thomas G. Alexander, "The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Autumn 1981): 78, refers to this episode of Lund and Cowley drinking Danish beer and currant wine, and then adds that Charles W. Penrose, who became an apostle three years after these Saltair discussions, "occasionally served wine."

24. Clawson, Diary, October 3, 1900.

25. Clawson, Diary, December 6, 1900.

26. Clawson, Diary, January 9, 1901.

27. Young, Diary, July 9, 1901.

28. Lund, July 10, 1901.

29. Clawson, Diary, July 10, 1901.

30. Lund, Diary, July 10, 1901.

31. Lund, Diary, July 11, 1901.

32. Clawson, Diary, July 11, 1901. Earlier this same year Brigham Young Jr. also admitted that he partook of the occasional "cup of tea" and felt sure that this was weakening his heart. Young, Diary, January 31, 1901.

33. Marriner W. Merrill only pinpoints the time of the First Presidency entering (11 a.m.), the partaking of the sacrament (12:30 p.m.), and the adjournment (1:15 p.m.). Marriner W. Merrill, Diary, July 11, 1901, photocopy in the possession of Annie Whitton, with the original located at the LDS Archives.

34. John Henry Smith, Diary, July 11, 1901.

35. *Improvement Era* 5 (May 1902): 559; 5 (July 1902): 731. John D. C. Gadd, "Saltair, Great Salt Lake's Most Famous Resort," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Summer 1968): 202-4, minimized the involvement of the LDS leaders in the sale of beer at Saltair.

36. S. Todd Shoemaker, "Saltair and the Mormon Church, 1893-1906" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1983), 145, 149-52.

37. Nancy D. McCormick and John S. McCormick, *Saltair* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 46. The McCormicks (p. 45) confuse the dates for the church ban on beer, since only the 1902 and 1903 seasons were involved, not also 1901.

38. Clawson, Diary, October 5, 1904.

39. Ibid.

40. In the Marriott Library at the University of Utah is an eight-page document known as "Excerpts From The Weekly Council Meetings Of The Quorum Of The Twelve Apostles, Dealing With The Rights Of Negroes In The Church, 1849-1940," which includes the decisions of the brethren from October 9, 1859 (not 1849), to January 25, 1940, on the subject of the blacks and the priesthood. A copy of this compilation of statements was evidently distributed to each of the apostles in 1940, and the carbon copy in the George Albert Smith collection at the University of Utah was published in the 1972 edition of Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality?* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Company, 1972), 582-85, but not in the 1982 edition.

41. This extract from the Clawson and Lund diaries is reproduced with only minor changes in spacing, punctuation, spelling, capitalization (only at the beginning of sentences) and the elimination of unintentional dittography. The few handwritten textual corrections have been followed without specific indication of the original reading. No changes in wording have been made, and any editorial additions are indicated by the use of square brackets.

42. The "other meeting" is identified in the Clawson diary as a meeting at 10 a.m. of the Board of Directors of the Utah Light and Power Company.

43. Brigham Young Jr. (1836-1903) was a son of President Brigham Young and Mary Ann Angell. He and his teenage brother John W. were ordained apostles on February 4, 1864, by their father. This ordination was performed by Brigham Young alone, with the other members of the First Presidency—Heber C. Kimball and Daniel H. Wells—being excluded. Kimball was strongly against this private ordination and told Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Chauncey W. West on March 3, 1865: "I say in the name of Christ it will not stand and I know it by revelation and God has given it to me. Why did not President Young call upon his 2 counselors? Because he was selfish in it. It was not done by the spirit of God and it will not stand and the Lord has told me so. . . ." Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal: 1833-1898 Typescript* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-84), 6:215, with parts of this quotation being in shorthand.

44. At this point (which is page 34 of the diary) Lund has the note: "See p. 12." For some reason pages 12 and 13 contain the first part of Clawson's remarks, which are here drawn from that earlier section of Lund's journal. At the end of these two pages are the words "West Jordan," which connect to the continuation of Lund's minutes of Clawson's address on page 34.

45. Heber M. Wells (1859-1938) was elected in November 1895 to be the first governor of the State of Utah and was inaugurated on January 6, 1896. See Edward L. Lyman, "Heber M. Wells and the Beginnings of Utah's Statehood" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1967).

46. Sterling Williams (1870-1965) served as a counselor in the Alberta Stake presidency, and in the 1920s as a recorder in the Alberta Temple. See Clawson, *Diary*, July 18, 1901.

47. Lund's specification "hymn on 86" needs to be corrected to "36," since in the hymnal *Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Co., 1891) "Be it my only wisdom here," hymn no. 28, is found on page 36. This 464-page edition was reprinted in 1894, 1897, and 1899, so any of these editions could have been the one used by Lund.

48. The first four Mormon missionaries to Japan were Heber J. Grant, Louis A. Kelsch, Horace S. Ensign, and Alma O. Taylor, who left Salt Lake City two weeks later, on July 24, 1901, and arrived at Yokohama on August 12. When Grant reported the progress of the mission in April 1902, two converts had joined the church—Hajime Nakazawa, a Shinto priest, and Saburo Kikuchi, who was ordained an elder on the same day as his baptism. They both soon left the church, and Grant admitted eighteen months later that Kikuchi "wanted to borrow some money from me to start a patent medicine establishment," and likewise, that Nakazawa "wanted fifteen hundred dollars from me to start a job printing office, and when he didn't get it, his faith oozed out." *Conference Report*, October 4, 1903, 13. See also *Deseret Evening News*, March 29, 1902, and Ronald W. Walker, "Strangers in a Strange Land: Heber J. Grant and the Opening of the Japanese Mission," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 33.

49. Joseph M. Tanner (1859-1927), a son of Myron Tanner and Mary Jane Mount, served as acting president of Brigham Young Academy in Provo, principal of Brigham Young College in Logan, a member of the general Sunday School board, president of the Utah Agricultural College, and superintendent of Church Schools. For a biography of Joseph M. Tanner, see Margery W. Ward, *A Life Divided: The Biography of Joseph Marion Tanner, 1859-1927* (Salt Lake City: Publisher's Press, 1980).

50. Henry S. Tanner (1869-1935), a son of Joseph S. Tanner and Elizabeth Haws, served as president of the California Mission and instructor at Brigham Young Academy. After receiving his bachelor of laws in 1899, he began a private law practice in Salt Lake City. For a biography of Henry S. Tanner, see

George S. Tanner, *John Tanner and His Family* (Salt Lake City: John Tanner Family Association, 1974), 328.

51. Stephen L. Chipman (1864-1945), a son of James Chipman and Sarah A. Green, was the manager of Chipman Mercantile Company and served as Alpine Stake president, a member of the Brigham Young University board of directors, and Salt Lake Temple president. See [Dean W. Chipman, ed.,] *Stephen Chipman, Pioneer, 1805-1868* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1980), 371.

52. Francis M. Lyman Jr. (1863-1957), a son of Apostle Francis M. Lyman and Rhoda Ann Taylor, was a surveyor and a civil and mining engineer. See Francis M. Lyman Jr., *Diary*, microfilm at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, and at the LDS Archives.

53. Throughout the minutes in his diaries, Rudger Clawson developed the habit of listing the apostles in strict order of seniority in the quorum. Evidently he had initially typed the list with the phrase "and Reed Smoot" as an indication of the final apostle present. He then realized that he had left out Grant, so he continued typing and corrected this accidental omission by adding "and Heber J. Grant" at the end of the list. The further editorial addition of "[and Anthon H. Lund]" completes the restoration of apostles actually present, since Francis M. Lyman was in England and John W. Taylor was in Canada. The correct order according to seniority is shown at the beginning of the Clawson minutes for July 10, 1901. For instances in 1901 where Clawson added by hand names missing from the typewritten list of those present, see Clawson, *Diary*, January 9, October 31, and November 14, 1901.

54. Leandro Fernández (1851-1921) was the Mexican minister of the interior. John Henry Smith reports that Fernández "was a little cold at first but gradually warmed up until he said he was our friend." John Henry Smith, *Diary*, June 5, 1901.

55. José Yves Limantour (1854-1935) was the Mexican minister of finance. See John Henry Smith, *Diary*, June 7, 1901.

56. Porfirio Diaz (1830-1915) was the president of Mexico from 1877 to 1911. In 1910 revolt against his dictatorial rule broke out, and in May 1911 he resigned, leaving for Europe. Still in exile, he died in 1915 in Paris. See Carlton Beals, *Porfirio Diaz: Dictator of Mexico* (Philadelphia & London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1932). John Henry Smith, who met Diaz on June 17, felt when the interview was concluded that he "had just parted with one of the great and good men of the world," and one week later he reported his visit to Lorenzo Snow. John Henry Smith, *Diary*, June 17 and 24, 1901.

57. Frank Y. Taylor (1861-1953), a son of President John Taylor and his seventh wife, Margaret Young, served as a member of the general board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association and as Granite Stake president.

58. The Manifesto officially ending Mormon plural marriages was issued by President Wilford Woodruff on September 24, 1890, and accepted by vote of the church membership on October 6, 1890. For a discussion of post-Manifesto polygamy among the church leaders, see D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 9-105.

59. Concerning the Mormon doctrine of men becoming Gods in eternity, see D&C 76:58 and Van Hale, "The Doctrinal Impact of the King Follett Discourse," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 209-25. In the King Follett Discourse on April 7, 1844, Joseph Smith said: "You have got to learn how to make yourselves Gods in order to save yourselves and be kings and priests to God, the same as all Gods have done." Stan Larson, "The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 201.

60. Clawson, *Diary*, October 16, 1900, and November 17, 1901.

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